

A DESCRIPTIVE GRAMMAR  
OF SAEI:DI  
EGYPTIAN COLLOQUIAL  
ARABIC

*by*

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## PREFACE

This study presents the first descriptive analysis of the structure of *səfi:di*, the variety of Egyptian Arabic spoken by the inhabitants of the Nile Valley between Cairo and Aswan.

Besides the major purpose of describing the phonemics, morphemics and syntax of *səfi:di*, it is hoped that this study would contribute to dialect studies of the varieties of Arabic spoken in Egypt, and to comparative studies of Arabic dialects.

I can hardly find adequate words to express how deep my appreciation is for those scholars at the University of Texas who, by training me thoroughly in structural linguistics, have helped in making this, the first descriptive grammar of *səfi:di*, possible.

To Professor Walter Lehn of the University of Texas, I owe much of the most helpful suggestions.

I am profoundly grateful to Professor Archibald A. Hill, to whom I owe not only excellent counsel and instructive suggestion but also much of training in structural linguistics.

I am especially indebted to Professor Winfred P. Lehmann, whose encouragement, patience and wise criticism during my training as a linguist and all through this study, have helped me fare safely through the hazardous linguistic adventure of describing a language for the first time.

I am a student of the late Professor E. Bagby Atwood, whose loss was a blow to all who knew him. I owe much of my early orientation in linguistics to Professor Atwood. The warmth of his friendship is unquenchable in the stream of days.

To a great scholar from Brown University I owe much of the encouragement and help needed for the accomplishment of this work.

Cairo, May 1967

A. A. KHALAFALLAH



## TABLE OF CONTENTS

Preface . . . . .	5
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### PART I: PHONEMICS

Introduction . . . . .	11
1. The Phonemes of <i>səfi:di</i> . . . . .	13
2. Suprasegmentals . . . . .	15
3. <i>səfi:di</i> Vocalic System . . . . .	21
4. Consonants . . . . .	25
5. Emphasis . . . . .	27
6. Phonotactics . . . . .	32
7. Morphophonemic Alternation . . . . .	40

### PART II: MORPHEMICS

8. <i>səfi:di</i> Morphemic Segments . . . . .	49
9. Form Classes in <i>səfi:di</i> . . . . .	51
10. Pronouns . . . . .	76
11. Pronominals . . . . .	77
12. Particles . . . . .	79

### PART III: SYNTAX

13. <i>səfi:di</i> Syntactic Units . . . . .	87
14. Types of <i>səfi:di</i> Phrases . . . . .	89

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

15. Types of <i>səfi:di</i> Clauses . . . . .	91
16. Major Sentence types in <i>səfi:di</i> . . . . .	92
17. Negation. . . . .	100
18. Interrogation . . . . .	103
19. Sample <i>səfi:di</i> Text . . . . .	105
Appendix to Phonotactics . . . . .	111

**PART 1**

**PHONEMICS**

2. A larger number of classicisms (e.g., /Pús̩wa/ 'behavior model').
3. Quotations from Alqurʔa:n, Alħadi:th, classical poetry and prose, spoken in accordance with the rules given by the classical grammarians.

Group 2 is characterized by:

1. The occurrence of the sequence /PiC<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-/, where the speech of group 1 has C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>- (e.g., /Pibrá:m/ 'cooking pottery').
2. The occurrence of the sequence -C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>- where group 1 has -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>- (e.g., /fánizhom/ 'their goat').
3. The occurrence of the sequence -C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub> where group 1 has -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub> (e.g., /rátez/ 'trotting').
4. The virtually complete absence of classicisms.
5. Quotations from Alqurʔa:n, Alħadi:th as well as classical poetry and prose are pronounced in accordance with everyday speech.

Group 1 and group 2 are social dialects, in contrast with the geographical dialects distinguished above. Further possible dialect classification is not pertinent here, and accordingly is not discussed.

## 0.2. SOURCES OF CORPUS

0.2.1. This study is based primarily upon the author's speech and that of his wife, both of whom belong to group 1 of southern saғi:di. My wife comes from the village of AlSukaliyyi, about eight miles north of my native village, ʕizbet Pílbu:sá, which is about 330 miles south of Cairo. She belongs to a family where saғi:di is spoken and she spent her life up to the age of eighteen between Cairo and her native village.

Other saғi:di informants from groups 1 and 2 were contacted in the field through trips to various parts of Upper Egypt during the collection of the corpus.

## 0.3. SIZE OF CORPUS

0.3.1. The corpus was collected over a period extending from 1958 to 1965 from my own speech and that of my wife, as well as that of other saғi:di informants contacted in the field. It was collected by:

- a) Recordings of and notes on daily conversations and stories, as well as checking with my wife and other native informants on points where self-deception was suspected;
- (b) Exploring all mathematical possibilities of combinations of segmentals to expand the range of coverage of the corpus to the farthest possible limits.

## 1. THE PHONEMES OF saSi:di

### 1.1. SEGMENTALS

#### 1.1.1. *Consonants*

	Bilabial	Labiodental	Dental	Alveolar	Palatal	Velar	Uvular	Pharyngeal	Glottal
<i>Stops</i>						k			p
voiceless			t			g			
voiced	b		d			ɣ			
<i>Affricates</i>					č				
voiceless					j				
voiced						x			
<i>Fricatives</i>			f	s	š	χ		h	
voiceless				z		g			
voiced						ɣ			
<i>Nasals</i>	m		n			x			
<i>Lateral</i>			l			g			
<i>Trill</i>				r		ɣ			
<i>Semivowels</i>	w			y					

#### 1.2.1. *Vowels*

	front	central	back
high	i		u
mid	e		o
low		a	

**1.2.2. *Co-vowels***

Length /:/; Emphasis /\_/\_

**1.3. SUPRASEGMENTALS****1.3.1. *Juncture***

Terminal junctures /|/, /||/, /#/.

Internal juncture /+/.

**1.3.2. *Stress***

Primary '/'; Non-primary ^/.

**1.3.3. *Pitch***

/3/

/2/

/1/ lowest

## 2. SUPRASEGMENTALS

### 2.1. JUNCTURE

#### 2.1.1. *Terminal junctures*

2.1.1.1. The segmental sequence /saŋado:/ can be spoken with any of the following pitch patterns:

- A. 1. The first syllable is spoken on a medium pitch which is maintained through the second syllable.
2. The third syllable is spoken on a higher pitch followed by a downglide to a lower pitch than that of the first two syllables, before silence. /<sup>2</sup>saŋadó:/, spoken in this manner, is a declarative statement: 'they helped him'.
- B. 1. The first two syllables are spoken on the same pitch as in A1.
2. The higher pitch of the third syllable glides upward before silence. /<sup>2</sup>saŋadó:/, spoken in this manner, is a reiterated question: 'did they help him?'

2.1.1.2. Comparing the two pitch patterns of /saŋado:/ described above we find:

1. The pitch on the third syllable in pattern A gradually moves downward and gradually fades.
2. The pitch on the third syllable in pattern B moves upward and abruptly stops.

The downturn and upturn of pitch described above form a contrast which will be symbolized: A /#/ , B /||/.

2.1.1.3. In the utterance:

/Padahu: galamak taŋa xudu/

1. /Pada/ may be spoken on medium pitch, /hu:/ on high pitch, and /-mak/ on medium pitch.
2. The medium level is maintained through /taŋa/.
3. Between the end of /galamak/ and the beginning of /taŋa/ there is a ritardando without tonal glide.
4. /xudu/ is spoken with high pitch on the first syllable and a gradual downglide of pitch on the second syllable before silence.

The ritardando without tonal glide described in 3 signals a third *səfi:di* juncture which will be symbolized by //.

2.1.1.4. Each of the three junctures appears to prolong the immediately preceding sound(s) in varying degrees. /#/ co-occurs with silence; // and /|/ may or may not co-occur with silence.

### 2.1.2. Internal juncture

2.1.2.1. The following pairs of utterances are differentiated by contrast between "sharp" and "smooth" transition between the underlined segments:

<i>Sharp Transition</i>	<i>Smooth Transition</i>
-------------------------	--------------------------

Ia / <sup>2</sup> <u>dár</u> <sup>3</sup> + <u>bey</u> <sup>1</sup> #/	Ib / <sup>2</sup> <u>dár</u> <sup>3</sup> <u>bey</u> <sup>1</sup> #/
IIa / <sup>2</sup> <u>xád</u> <sup>3</sup> + <u>šey</u> <sup>1</sup> #/	IIb / <sup>2</sup> <u>xád</u> <sup>3</sup> <u>šey</u> <sup>1</sup> #/

Meanings:

Ia 'he harmed me'	Ib 'my street'
IIa 'he took something'	IIb 'he did not take'

2.1.2.2. Phonetic allophones of /+/ in *səfi:di*. Length of the syllable immediately before /+/, realized primarily in the consonants.

2.1.2.3. A minimal pair involving variant position of /+/ is:

/ <sup>2</sup> mišabú:+na <sup>31</sup> já:/	'didn't his father speak gently to him?'
/ <sup>2</sup> mišabú:na+ <sup>31</sup> já:/	'didn't our father come to him?'

### 2.2. DEFINITIONS

2.2.1. *Macrosegment* — a segment of speech between silence and a subsequent terminal juncture, or between two terminal junctures.

2.2.2. *Microsegment* — a segment of speech between two internal junctures, or a preceding internal juncture and a subsequent terminal juncture, or a terminal and a following internal juncture.

2.2.3. *Syllable* — the minimum syllable in *səfi:di* is CV, the maximum: CCVCC or CCV:C.

2.2.4. *Syllable boundaries* — (1) the occurrence of a juncture always indicates the beginning of a syllable; (2) in the absence of juncture syllable boundaries are pre-

dictable in terms of the constituent segmental phonemes of the microsegment in accordance with the following rules:

- (a) In a sequence of two consonants, either C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub> or C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub> not followed by a juncture, the syllable boundary falls between the two consonants.
- (b) In a sequence of three consonants not immediately followed by a juncture, the syllable boundary falls between the second and third consonants.
- (c) A sequence of two consonants immediately followed by a juncture goes with the preceding vowel.

### 2.3. STRESS

#### 2.3.1. In the following two groups of items:

A	B
/Pájal/ ‘date’ or ‘end of life’	/Paďál/ ‘greater’
/sábat/ ‘basket’	/sabát/ ‘I kept still’

the first syllable in items A is more prominent than the second, whereas the second syllable in items B is more prominent. These and other minimal pairs in sáSi:di make it necessary to recognize a phoneme /' which may be referred to as ‘primary stress’.

2.3.2. The weaker grade of stress in items A and B above will be referred to as “non-primary stress” and symbolized by /'/.

2.3.2.1. I distinguish five phonetic degrees of stress in sáSi:di [! ' ^ ' ~] macrosegmental primary, primary, secondary, tertiary and weak, in descending rank.

2.3.3. The primary stress has the following allophones:

[!] — maximum prominence, co-occurs with macrosegmental pitch-peak.

['] — marks syllables in the macrosegment which bear primary stress in citation forms.

2.3.4. The non-primary stress — unmarked in phonemic transcription in this study — has the following allophones:

[^] — maximum prominence of the non-primary stress, marks syllables of the structure CVCC, CCVC, CCVCC, unmarked by primary stress in bisyllabic and multisyllabic microsegments.

['] — marks post-junctural syllables of the structure CV, CVC, CCV and pre-junctural syllables of the structure CV, CVC in bisyllabic and multisyllabic microsegments.

[~] — marks syllables of the structure CV, CVC, immediately before or after the syllable with the primary stress in multisyllabic microsegments, as well as the definite article /Pil-/ in post-junctural position.

2.3.5. The position of stress in the microsegment. With the exception of 49 minimal pairs in the corpus, stress in the microsegment falls on:

- (1) A long vowel (no microsegment has more than one long vowel); if none, then
  - (2) On the last VCC; if neither (1) nor (2) occurs, then
  - (3) On the first syllable.

Examples:

- (1) /xalagá:tu/ 'his clothes'
- (2) /masáktu/ 'I caught him'
- (3) /kátab/ 'he wrote'  
       /kátabow/ 'they wrote'  
       /kátabatu/ 'she wrote it (m.)'<sup>1</sup>  
       /lbáladu/ 'to his native town'

2.3.6. Geminates (within the microsegment) resulting from the assimilation of /l/ of the definite article /Pil-/ or /t/ of the verbal prefixes /tit-/, /Pit-/, /nit-/, /yit-/ to a following consonant do not affect position of stress in the microsegment to which /Pil-/ or any of the verbal prefixes mentioned above is added. Examples:

- /Pissámaki/ : (/Pilsamaki/) 'the fish'  
 /Pissáḥabat/ : (/Pitsáḥabat/) 'it (f.) was drawn away'

## 2.4. PITCH

2.4.1. A səsi:di monosyllabic utterance such as /Pá:/ 'yes', can be spoken in several ways depending on the accompanying terminal juncture. If the accompanying terminal is /#/ , /Pá:/ can be spoken in a low register of voice with no particular impression of either medium or high pitch and with the down turn connected with /#/ . This

low pitch may be referred to as pitch /1/. When /Pá:#/ is spoken in this way, it expresses desire to hear more of what is said, or that what is heard is agreed to.

2.4.2. /Pá:/ may also be spoken on a noticeably high register of voice with either the

upturn connected with /||/: /Pá:||/, which is spoken usually as a question asking

repetition of an utterance, or the downturn connected with /#/ : /Pá:#/, which is an answer in the affirmative to a question. This high pitch may be referred to as pitch /3/.<sup>231</sup>

2.4.3. /Pá:/ may be spoken on a pitch that is neither as low as /1/ nor as high as /3/.

This medium pitch may be referred to as pitch /2/: /Pá: | jí #/ 'Yes! he came'.<sup>222</sup><sup>231</sup>

2.4.4. The three relative pitch levels will be referred to as:

high /3/      mid /2/      low /1/

<sup>1</sup> The following abbreviations will be used through this study: m. = masculine; f. = feminine; m.s. = masculine singular; f.s. = feminine singular; d. = dual; pl. = plural.

2.4.5. Within the limitation of three pitch phonemes, there are 27 theoretical possible sequences. But the pitch sequences that actually occur are given in the following table which also shows the tactical behavior of the pitch phonemes:

	Initial	Medial	Final
1	1	1	
	2	1	
	2	2	
	3	1	
	3	2	
	3	3	
		2	2
	2	3	1
		3	2
		3	3
	3	3	3

2.4.6. Types of intonation contours. The sequences attested may be classified into general types:

- (1) Level intonation: /111/, /222/, /333/
- (2) Rising-sustaining intonation: /122/, /133/, /233/.
- (3) Rising-returning intonation: /121/, /131/, /232/.
- (4) Rising-falling intonation: /132/, /231/.

2.4.7. The domain of the intonation contour is the macrosegment. Within the macrosegment, every syllable, except the first and the last which may be spoken on two pitches, is spoken on a definite pitch.

2.4.8. Examples of the intonation contours:

#### Pattern

##### 1. Level

/ <sup>1</sup>zé:ni<sup>1</sup> #/ ‘good (f.)’ — resigned comment

2. / <sup>2</sup>Pámar<sup>2</sup> ||/ ‘did he order?’ — question expressing mild surprise.

3. / <sup>3</sup>gattó:<sup>33</sup> ||/ ‘did they rob him?’ — question expressing amazement

##### 2. Rising-sustaining

1. / <sup>1</sup>fissiyá:<sup>2</sup>li<sup>2</sup> / ‘in the pocket?’ (yes/no question)
2. / <sup>1</sup>yasá:<sup>3</sup>ter<sup>3</sup> / ‘form expressing hope (for safety)
3. / <sup>2</sup>našafáthí<sup>3</sup><sup>3</sup> / ‘did she dry it (f.)?’ (echo question)

#### 3. Rising-returning

1. / <sup>1</sup>hayíwsá<sup>2</sup> rád<sup>1</sup> #/ ‘an answer will come’
2. / <sup>1</sup>?ittá:men jí<sup>1</sup> #/ ‘the eighth has arrived’ (emphatic statement)
3. / <sup>2</sup>wé:n<sup>3</sup><sup>2</sup> #/ ‘where?’
4. / <sup>1</sup>yá sá:mey<sup>2</sup> #/ ‘Samey!’ — vocative

#### 4. Rising-falling

1. / <sup>2</sup>?illáma <sup>3</sup>júwwa<sup>1</sup> #/ ‘the crowd is inside’
2. / <sup>2</sup>?i?ímílha kdí<sup>1</sup> #/ ‘do (m.s.) it (f.) this way!’ (mild command)
3. / Iwád makatábsey<sup>3</sup><sup>1</sup> #/ ‘the boy did not write’

2.4.9. Expanded pitch sequences. Only two pitch sequences occur in expanded forms: /231/ may be expanded into /1231/, /132/ into /1321/.

Conditioning factors:

1. In /1231/, the occurrence of an initial syllable marked by [~] (e.g., [<sup>1</sup>?íssilá:n <sup>2</sup>lxádrà #/ ‘the green scarfs’]).
2. In /1321/ and /1231/, length of the utterance and number of intervening syllables.

- / <sup>1</sup>mašaggá:la <sup>3</sup>nágalu talalí:s <sup>2</sup>lgálla hní<sup>1</sup> #/ ‘it was the workers who moved the grain sacks here’
- / <sup>1</sup>maká:nu <sup>2</sup>jabadó:ha labárra<sup>3</sup><sup>1</sup> #/ ‘they must have pushed it (f.) outside’

### 3. THE *səfi:di* VOCALIC SYSTEM

#### 3.1.

3.1.1. The *səfi:di* vocalic system comprises 20 minimally contrastive vocalic nuclei: 5 short non-emphatic, 5 short emphatic, 5 long non-emphatic, and 5 long emphatic.

3.1.2. There are several phonemic interpretations possible:

- (1) To set up 20 vowel phonemes.
- (2) To set up 5 short non-emphatic, 5 short emphatic vowel phonemes and a phoneme of length.
- (3) To set up 5 short non-emphatic vowel phonemes, a phoneme of length and a phoneme of emphasis.

3.1.3. The uneconomical nature of solutions (1) and (2) is obvious. Solution (2) assumes that the vowel is either emphatic or non-emphatic, thus bypassing the problems of classification and simultaneity or succession of emphasis. The writer's preference is for solution (3).

Solution (3) sets up 7 phonemes [for 20 in (1) and 12 in (2)]. Length will be classified as a co-vowel occurring sequentially only in post-vocalic position /:/, emphasis as a co-vowel occurring simultaneously with syllabic nucleus /-/.

3.1.4. The following diacritical marks, used throughout this study, will be used in describing the allophones of vowel phonemes:

V	= any vowel
ꝑ	= unusually short
V:	= vowel occurring before length
ꝑ	= vowel co-occurring with emphasis
ꝑ:	= vowel occurring before length and co-occurring with emphasis
ꝑ	= tense
ꝑ	= lax
V<	= fronted
V>	= backed

$V^{\wedge}$	= raised
$V^{\vee}$	= lowered
$\tilde{V}$	= nasalized
$\underline{V}$	= unstressed vowel ( $V:$ is always stressed)
$\underline{Y} - \underline{\cdot} -$	= pre-stress syllable
$- \cdot - \underline{Y} -$	= post-stress syllable
C	= any consonant
S	= any stop other than velar
S	= velar stop
F	= any labial or alveolar fricative
F	= any fricative other than F
N	= nasal
R	= resonant
#	= juncture (+ = internal juncture)
(+)	= syllable boundary
&	= in free variation with
~	= or

For convenience, the terms "short vowel", "long vowel", "short emphatic vowel", "long emphatic vowel", will be used for  $V$ ,  $V:$ ,  $\underline{V}$ ,  $\underline{V}:$ .

### 3.2. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION OF VOWELS

3.2.1. The co-vowel of length has an extra long allophone [ː] in the environment  $V:\#$  (e.g., [sóː] 'a game of sticks', shorter allophone [·] in the environments  $V:+$  (e.g., [já·+xámsi] 'he got five' and  $V:C(+)$  (e.g., [xá·ltu] 'his aunt', [:] elsewhere.

3.2.2. The co-vowel of emphasis has different allophones with different vowels (see 5.1 below).

3.2.3. Emphasis spreads allophonically within, as well as across, syllable boundaries in accordance with a fixed set of rules (see 5.6.1).

3.2.4. All vowels have allophones of the type  $\underline{V}$  when they occur before /:/ and/or with /\_/,  $V^<$  after front consonants and  $V^>$  after back consonants, of the type  $\tilde{V}$  in the environment  $N\tilde{V}N$ ,  $\tilde{V}$  in the environments  $- \cdot - \underline{V} +$ ,  $- \cdot - \underline{V} \#$ ,  $\underline{V}(+) \cdot -$ , and  $V^v$  (except /a/) with low pitch. /a/ has an allophone of the type  $V^<$  with high pitch.

3.2.5. Specific allophones of  $səʃi:di$  vowels. The following are the specific allophones of short and long  $səʃi:di$  vowels:

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Allophone</i>	<i>Environment</i>	<i>Example</i>
<i>/i/</i>	[i̥]	V̥C+	/šúglit+dí/ ‘this (m.) one’s property’
		V̥CC(+)- -	/birktákšey/ ‘not your (m.s.) pond’
	[I̥^]	V:♯	/bí:/ ‘with him/it (m.)’
		FV̥F(+)	/fízzey/ ‘get up! (f.s.)’
		FV̥CC(+)- -	/Sillté:n/ ‘two problems’
		FV:N(+)	/hí:nni/ ‘our end’
		NV:N♯	/mí:n/ ‘who?’
	[i̥] }	elsewhere	
	[I̥:] }	elsewhere	
<i>/e/</i>	[ě̥]	V̥(C)(+)- -	/jebé:n/ ‘two pockets’
		/melté:n/	‘two bows’
	[e̥^]	- - V̥C♯	/wé:nek/ ‘where are you (f.s.)?’
		FV̥F	/séf/ ‘swallow (m.s.)!’
		SV̥C	/kéd/ ‘work (m.s.) hard!’
		CV:(C)(+)	/zé:tu/ ‘his oil’
		/zé:tni/	‘our oil’
		V̥C♯	/badé:t/ ‘I started’
	[e̥] }	elsewhere	
	[E̥:] }	elsewhere	
<i>/a/</i>	[Ḁ^]	V:♯	/já:/ ‘he came to him’
	[a]	CVC(+)	/náši/ ‘a lie’
		SV̥S♯	/bát/ ‘he cut’
	[ḁ^]	FV̥C(+)- -	/gallámt/ ‘I taught’
		RVN♯	/nám/ ‘he betrayed’
		RVF♯	/náx/ ‘he bent down’
	[ḁ^] }	elsewhere	
	[Ḁ:] }	elsewhere	
	[ü̥]	Ý(C)(+)	/šífej/ ‘look (f.s.)!’
		/šíftu/	‘I saw him/it (m.)!’
<i>/u/</i>	[Ü̥^]	Ý- -	/kulú:/ ‘eat (pl.) it (m.)!’
		- - - Ý	/dalí:lu/ ‘his proof’
	[U]	V:♯	/gítú:/ ‘save (pl.) him’
	[Ü̥^]	FV̥F(+)- -	/huzná:/ ‘we kept it (m.)’
		FÝF(+)- -	/susná:/ ‘we appeased him’
	[u̥] }	elsewhere	
	[u̥^:] }	elsewhere	
	[Ω̥]	V:♯	/só:/ ‘a game of sticks’
		ÝCC♯	/tóbt/ ‘I abstained’
	[Ω̥]	- - -(+)SVC	/túgol/ ‘weight’
		SÝ- -	/komé:n/ ‘two heaps’
		FÝ- - -	/hošé:n/ ‘two courtyards’

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Allophone</i>	<i>Environment</i>	<i>Example</i>
	[ə̂]	RV:C#	/lə:n/      'color'
	[o]		
	[ə:]}	elsewhere	

## 4. CONSONANTS

### 4.1. GENERAL OBSERVATIONS ON THE ALLOPHONIC DISTRIBUTION OF CONSONANTS<sup>1</sup>

4.1.1. All consonants have fortis allophones in post-junctural position before stressed vowels.

4.1.2. All consonants have lenis allophones in the environments V:C#, VC-#.

4.1.3. Stops, voiceless and voiced, are released prejuncturally after stressed vowels, released or unreleased in the environment VC#.

4.1.4. Before front vowels: (1) /č ſ š y/ have pre-palatal allophones; (2) /k g/ have post-palatal allophones.

4.1.5. Before back vowels: (1) /t d n l/ have post-dental allophones; (2) /s z r/ have post-alveolar allophones.

4.1.6. Stops and fricatives are aspirated or unaspirated, in free variation, in post-junctural position before stressed vowels. Fricatives and resonants have the allophone C in the environments V:C#, VC#.

#### 4.1.7. *Stops*

- (1) Have allophones of the type Č in the environment VC-#.
- (2) Voiced stops have the allophones C & Ç before voiceless consonants.
- (3) Voiceless stops have the allophones C & Ç before voiced stops.

4.1.8. *Affricates*. /ʃ/ has the allophone Ç before voiceless stops, C & Ç before voiceless fricatives.

#### 4.1.9. *Fricatives*

- (1) have the allophone C in the environment VC-#.

<sup>1</sup> The same symbols used in the description of vowels are used with the addition of the following:  
—: indicates position in a cluster; C: extra short; Ç: long; Ç: voiced; C: voiceless.

(2) Voiceless fricatives have the allophones Ç & Ç before voiced stops and voiced fricatives.

(3) Voiced fricatives have the allophone Ç before voiceless stops and voiceless fricatives.

4.1.2.0. *Resonants*. /m n l r/ have the allophone Ç in the environment VÇ-#.

#### 4.2.

The following are specific allophonic distributions not covered by the above observations:

- (1) /m/ has the labiodental allophone [m] before /f/ (e.g., /mfátteš/ ‘inspector’).
- (2) /n/ has the velar allophone [ŋ] before /k g x g/ (e.g., /yúngol/ ‘he copies’, /yúnxol/ ‘he sifts (powder)’).
- (3) /w/ has the allophone [u] in post-junctural preconsonantal position (e.g., /wká:li/ ‘inn’).

## 5. EMPHASIS

### 5.1. ARTICULATORY CORRELATES

- (1) *With vowels* — pharyngeal striction and:
  - (a) Front and back vowels: lowering of the tongue.
  - (b) Front vowels: retraction of the tongue.
  - (c) Back vowels: protraction of the tongue.
  - (d) /a/: wider lip orifice.
- (2) *With consonants* — pharyngeal striction and:
  - (a) Dentals, alveolars: velarization.
  - (b) Dentals: denti-alveolar point of articulation.
  - (c) /t/: glottalization (the allophone [t]).
  - (d) Palatals, velars, uvulars, pharyngeals: broadening of the tongue at closure point.

### 5.2. POSSIBLE PHONEMIC INTERPRETATIONS

- (1) Doubling the number of consonant phonemes: 23 non-emphatic + 23 emphatic.
- (2) Doubling the number of vowels: 5 non-emphatic + 5 emphatic.
- (3) 23 non-emphatic consonant phonemes + 4 emphatic consonant phonemes /t d s z/ + 1 emphatic vowel /a/.
- (4) Emphasis as a prosodeme or a long component: E-----/ or /\_\_\_\_/.
- (5) Positing a phoneme of emphasis simultaneous with consonants.
- (6) Positing a phoneme of emphasis simultaneous with vowels.

Interpretations 1, 2 and 3 are obviously uneconomic. "Prosodeme" is a vague term, and to treat emphasis as a phonemic long component involves difficulty in setting up rules to define its domain. Interpretations 5 and 6 are equally economical, but such structural facts as emphatic vowel harmony in səʃi:di weigh in favor of 6.

### 5.3. DISTRIBUTION OF EMPHATIC ALLOPHONES OF səʃi:di VOWELS

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Allophone</i>	<i>Environment</i>	<i>Example</i>
/i/	[i]	ÝRC(+)	/tʃrtly/      'you (m.s.) soak it (m.) with water'

<i>Phoneme</i>	<i>Allophone</i>	<i>Environment</i>	<i>Example</i>	
	[í̚]	- ɿ - V #	/sírfi/	'altogether (f.s.)'
		V(C)(+)- ɿ -	/siwá:n/	'pavilion'
	[í̄̚]	V:#	/Páradí:/	'his lands'
		V:R(+)	/sí:rtu/	'his small fish'
		FV(F(+)- ɿ -	/gízná:/	'we angered him'
	[í̄̚] {			
	[í̄̚:] }	elsewhere		
/e/	[Ē̚]	Ý #	/té/	'indeed'
	[Ē̄̚]	ÝC #	/téb/	'medicine'
	[Ē̚v]	Ý:# /	/sárré:/	'what did he pack?'
		FÝ:C(+)	/gé:thom/	'their field'
	[ə̄̚]	Ý(+)- ɿ -	/teré:n/	'two birds'
	[Ē̄̚]			
	[Ē̄̚:] }	elsewhere		
/a/	[a]	FV:#	/saḥhá:/	'he waked him'
		FV:C(+)	/xá:ffa/	'healing (f.s.)'
	[Ā̚]	- ɿ - V F #	/bátañ/	'he hurt the head'
		FV(+)- ɿ -	/ḥasárt/	'I counted'
		FÝS #	/xát/	'line'
		SÝF #	/táx/	'he fired'
	[a] {			
	[ā̚:] }	elsewhere		
/u/	[ú̄̚]	Ý +	/rúbbu+zé:n/	'mix it (m.) well!'
		ÝCC(+)	/rúbbly/	'mix (m.s.) for him!'
		RÝF(+)	/lúsna/	'we got confused'
	[Ū̄̚]	Ý:#	/xattíqú:	'line (pl.) it (m.)!'
		RÝ:(+)	/ru:su/	'his sheep'
	[Ū̄̄̚]	FÝF(+)	/zúgní/	'we disappeared'
	[Ū̄̄̄̚]			
	[Ū̄̄̚:] }	elsewhere		
/o/	[ɔ̄̄̚]	RÝC #	/mó:t/	'stretch (m.s.)!'
	[ɔ̄̄̄̚]	FÝC #	/xót/	'neighbourhood'
		FÝ(+)- ɿ -	/hodé:n/	'two basins'
		ɿ -(+) SÝC #	/xúdor/	'green' (pl.)
	[ō̄̚] & [ø̄̄̚]	FÝ:#	/baggó:/	'they tricked him'
		NÝ:F(+)	/nó:hña/	'her mourning'
	[ø̄̄̄̚]			
	[ø̄̄̄̄̚]	elsewhere		

#### 5.4. DISTRIBUTION OF THE EMPHATIC ALLOPHONES OF *səsi:di* CONSONANTS

*səsi:di* consonants have emphatic allophones in the following environments (V = any emphatic vowel):

- CV, V-C (e.g., [sár] 'he packed', /sár/)
- CV, C-V (e.g., [brób] 'perhaps', /brób/)
- VC-, V-C (e.g., [dárb] 'path', /dár/b/)

#### 5.5. EMPHATIC ALLOPHONES OF /t/

The *səsi:di* phoneme /t/ has two emphatic allophones which require special treatment:

- [t̪] denti-alveolar
- [t̫] denti-alveolar, glottalized

[t̪] and [t̫] are in complementary distribution in the following environments: ([s],[z]): emphatic allophones of /s/ and /z/):

<i>Allophone</i>	<i>Environment</i>	<i>Example</i>
[t̪]	-sV	[tsá:b] 'he was hurt', /tsá:b/
	-zV	[tzám] 'it (m.) was tightened', /tzám/
	Vz-#	[gézt] 'I annoyed', /gézt/
	Vz(+)-	[búztow] 'you (pl.) became spoiled' /búztow/
	t̪V(C) #	[tá] 'O.K.', /tá/
	V-(+)s	[sátsu] 'his coughing', /sátsu/
	V-(+)z	[rátzu] 'his trotting' /rátzu/
	V-z#	[rátz] 'trotting', /rátz/

On the basis of the over-all distribution of [t̪] and [t̫] in my corpus, the following observations may be made:

- (1) [t̪] and [t̫] are partially in complementary distribution.
  - (2) Wherever [t̪] occurs — even in the environments mentioned above — it can be replaced by [t̫] without the least distortion of speech.
  - (3) A *səsi:di* speaker uses [t̪] in all environments in certain social circumstances (e.g., speaking to Lower Egyptians). If in the same circumstances he uses [t̫] it will be with the purpose of showing that he is *səsi:di*.
- [t̪] then is a stylistic allophone of /t/.

#### 5.6. THE DOMAIN OF EMPHASIS

Emphasis has two distinct domains of spread: domain 1: the syllable; domain 2: the morphological word (stem + maximum number of bound forms).

### 5.6.1. Rules for the spreading of emphasis within the syllable:

- (1) Consonants occurring post-juncturally or medially in syllables with emphatic nuclei have emphatic allophones.
- (2) Consonants occurring post-vocallyically (or in position 2 in a final cluster) before a major juncture, in syllables with emphatic nuclei, have emphatic, partially or completely de-emphasized allophones, in free variation.

### 5.6.2. Emphasis across syllabic boundary

(1) At the loss of internal juncture in the environment VC+CV, if the resulting cluster is of the type -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>- (i.e., a geminate), it includes an emphatic coda followed by a partially emphatic onset (e.g., [gəd̪+di] > [gəddi], /gəddi/ 'he cut this (m.)'. If the resulting cluster is of the type -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-, both coda and onset are non-emphatic (e.g., [ra:s+di:k] > [rasdi:k], /rasdi:k/ 'that (f.) one's head'—

(2) At the loss of internal juncture in the environment VC+CV, if the resulting cluster is a geminate, both coda and onset are emphatic (e.g., [xad+darba][xaddarba], /xaddárba/ 'he took a blow'. If the resulting cluster is of the type -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-, the coda is emphatic [xamas+ru:s], [xamasru:s], /xamasru:s/ 'five heads'—

## 5.7. STYLISTIC DE-EMPHASIS

(1) Pre-junctural consonants may be stylistically de-emphasized (e.g., [m̪dá:d], /mdá:d/ 'opposing' (m.s.).

(2) Qur'anic and literary quotations, as well as certain classicisms, used in səsi:di, are articulated, insofar as emphasis is concerned, with various degrees of conformity with a set of pertinent rules in the studies of classical Arab grammarians. Example:

‘waláw Pánṣafa lhussá:du yáwman’  
 /waláw Pánṣafa lhussá:du yáwman/  
 ‘If only the envious were fair one day...’  
 (from a line of verse by Palbuhturi, 204-284 Hijri)  
 Classical /Pánṣaf/ = səsi:di /Pánsaf/ ‘he was fair’.

## 5.8. EMPHATIC VOWEL HARMONY

Emphatic vowel harmony is the phenomenon of spreading of emphasis within the morphological word according to the following rules.

(1) Segmental morphemes prefixed to noun stems (e.g., /Pil-/), adjective stems (e.g., /Pa-/), and verb stems (e.g., /yu-/), select emphatic allomorphs when prefixed to emphatic or partially emphatic stems.<sup>1</sup> Examples:

<sup>1</sup> “Emphatic stem” = stem with emphasis co-occurring with its vowel nucleus or nuclei; “partially emphatic stem” = stem with initial syllable having emphatic vowel nucleus.

/Píssájara/ ‘the tree’  
/Pásqar/ ‘smaller’  
/yúxbqt/ ‘hits (3.m.s.)’

(2) Segmental morphemes suffixed to noun stems (e.g., /-a/ allomorph of the feminine morpheme), adjective stems (e.g., /-i:n/ plural morpheme), and verb stems (e.g., /-hom/ 3.pl. non-subject pronoun), select emphatic allomorphs when suffixed to emphatic stems. Examples:

/xádra/ ‘green (f.s.)’  
/ħírsi:n/ ‘cautious (pl.)’  
/ħaráshom/ ‘he guarded them’

(3) Exceptions to rules of spreading of emphatic vowel harmony are stylistically conditioned, for they are conscious attempts to conform to Classical Arabic pronunciation.

## 6. PHONOTACTICS

### 6.1. DISTRIBUTION OF VOWELS WITH VOWELS

sa*ii*:di vowels: (1) do not cluster with themselves; (2) occur as syllabic nuclei with or without /:/ and/or /\_/.

### 6.2. LIMITATIONS ON THE DISTRIBUTION OF VOWELS

(1) /i i u u/ do not occur in monosyllabic microsegments (with the exception of the negative particle (/míš/)).

(2) In microsegments of the structure C<sup>V</sup>, /i/ occurs in three items: /bí/ form used to call a girl, /dí/ 'this' (m.s.), /jí/ 'he came'.

/e/ occurs in one item: /té/ 'indeed'.

/a/ in one item: /lá/ 'No!'

/ə/ in four items: /bá/ a form expressing wonder, /xá/ 'take (2.m.s.)', /wá/ form expressing disagreement, /tá/ 'O.K.'

/u/ in one item: /šú/ 'look' (2.m.s.).

(3) Only /i i a u u/ occur in the environment - - - CV#. Examples:

/hábli/ 'foolish (f.s.)'

/básali/ 'onion'

/kásra/ 'robbery'

/háblu/ 'his rope'

/gárasu/ 'he pinched him'

(4) Vowels with /:/ and /-/ do not occur in microsegments of the structure C<sup>V</sup>. Vowels with /:/ or with /:/ and /-/ do not occur in microsegments of the structure CVCC, CCVCC or in the environment --- VCC(+)C-.

### 6.3. DISTRIBUTION OF VOWELS WITH CONSONANTS

(1) In post-junctural syllables, vowels occur preceded by a minimum of one and a maximum of two consonants.

- (2) In medial syllables, vowels occur preceded by one consonant.
- (3) In medial and pre-junctural syllables, vowels occur followed by two, one or no consonant.
- (4) Syllables with long vowels as their nuclei are closed by single consonants.
- (5) The following syllable types accordingly occur: CV CVC CCV CCVC CCVCC CV: CCV: CV:C CCV:C.
- (6) Syllables with long vowels (emphatic or non-emphatic) as their nuclei are always stressed. Syllables with short vowels (emphatic or non-emphatic) as their nuclei occur stressed or unstressed.
- (7) Syllables beginning with clusters of two consonants occur only initially in a microsegment.
- (8) Long vowels occur before and/or after geminates, short vowels occur stressed or unstressed medially before and/or after geminates in the microsegment (in which geminates occur only medially).
- (9) Any consonant may occur before or after any long vowel. /p/ occurs in the environment CV:# in two items: /Pá:/ 'Yes!', /Pé:/ 'what'. /č/ occurs initially in the environment CV:C# in one item, /čé:š/ 'clumsy' (m.s.). /p/ and /č/ do not occur in the environment V:C#.
- (10) Any consonant may occur before or after any short vowel, stressed or unstressed. In the environment VC# /p/ does not occur, /č/ occurs in one item /háč/ 'lying'.

#### 6.4. DISTRIBUTION OF /w/ AND /y/, IN TERMS OF OCCURRENCE WITH STRESSED VOWELS, PRE-STRESS VOWELS, AND POST-STRESS VOWELS

- (1) Occurrence of /w/ and /y/ with stressed vowels:
  - (a) in the environment VC#  
 /w/ and /y/ occur after /e a a: ə/,  
 /w/ after /ə:/, /y/ after /o: ɔ:/;
  - (b) in the environment VC(+)  
 /w/ and /y/ occur after /i a a: i ə ə:/  
 /w/ after /u/;
  - (c) in the environment V(+)C  
 /w/ and /y/ occur after /i a: ə:/,  
 /w/ after /a i: ə:/;
  - (d) in the environment CV (post-juncturally):  
 /w/ and /y/ occur before /i a a: i ə u/,  
 /w/ before /e: i: ə:/, /y/ before /u o: u:/.
- (2) Occurrence of /w/ and /y/ with pre-stress vowels:
  - (a) in the environment VC(+) - -  
 /w/ and /y/ occur after /i a i ə/;
  - (b) in the environment V(+)C - -  
 /w/ and /y/ occur after /a i ə/;

(c) in the environment CV- - (post-juncturally)

/w/ and /y/ occur before /i a u ə/,

/w/ before /e ɛ ə/, /y/ before /u/.

(3) Occurrence of /w/ and /y/ with post-stress vowels:

/w/: occurs pre-juncturally after /o ə/, and in the sequences (emphatic or non-emphatic):

/-wa/	/-wu/	
/-wek/	/-wey/	/-wak/

/y/: occurs pre-juncturally after /e ə/, and in the sequences (emphatic or non-emphatic):

/-yi/	/-yu/	
/-yek/	/-yey/	/-yak/

#### 6.5. səSi:di CONSONANT CLUSTERS

(1) səSi:di consonants cluster initially in post-junctural, pre-vocalic position, medially in inter-vocalic position, finally in post-vocalic pre-junctural position.

(2) Initial and final clusters have a maximum membership of two consonants. Medial clusters consist maximally of three consonants.

(3) Patterns of consonant clusters:

initial: C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-

medial: -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>-, -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-, -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-, C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>

final: -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>.

#### 6.6. GEMINATES

(1) səSi:di consonants geminate intervocally

(a) before and after long vowels as well as stressed or unstressed short vowels.

Examples:

/naggá:hi/ 'he selected it (f.)',

/lá:fí/ 'curving (f.)';

/náj̥at/ 'she talked much',

/naʃálhi/ 'he robbed her'.

(b) after stressed or unstressed short vowels, in the environment -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>(+)C<sub>2</sub>-.

Examples:

/hásslú/ 'catch (m.s.) him!'

/hasslú:hóm/ 'catch (pl.) them!'

## PHONOTACTICS

TABLE I  
*Initial Consonant Clusters: C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>*

C <sub>2</sub>	t	k	p	f	s	š	č	x	h	h	b	d	g	z	j	g'	č'	š'	m	n	l	r	w	y
t	tk	tp	tf	ts	ťš	tx	th	th	tb	kb	kd	tg	tz	ťj	tg'	ťg	kg	tm	tn	tl	tr	tw	ty	
k	kt	fk	fp	fs	ťš	fx	fh	ſh	fb	fd	fg	fz	fj	ſj	fg'	ťf	ſf	fm	fn	fr	fw	fy	ky	
p	ft	fk	fp	fs	ťš	sx	ſh	ſh	sb	sd	sg	hz	hj	hj	ſg'	ſs	ſm	sm	sl	sr	sw	sy	sy	
f	st	ſt	ſf	ſf	ťſ	ſx	ſh	ſh	ſb	ſd	ſg	hj	hj	hj	ſm	ſm	ſm	hm	hm	hm	hm	hy	xy	
s	ſt	ſt	ſf	ſf	ťſ	ſx	ſh	ſh	ſb	ſd	ſg	xd	xz	xj	xf	ſf	ſf	xm	xl	xr	hl	hr	hy	
š	č	č	č	č	č	č	č	č	čb	čd	čg	hj	hj	hj	čg'	čg	čg	dm	gn	gl	gr	gw	gy	
č	čt	čk	čf	čf	čf	čt	čk	čs	čb	čd	čg	bd	bg	bz	bj	bg'	bg	bm	bn	bl	br	bw	by	
h	ht	hk	hf	hf	hf	ht	hk	hs	bx	bf	bs	bx	bf	bh	dh	gb	gd	gm	gn	gl	dr	dw	dy	
b	bt	bk	bf	df	gs	gf	js	zf	jt	js	js	jt	js	jh	jb	zb	zg	zm	jm	jn	zl	zr	zw	
d	dt	dk	df	df	gs	gf	js	zf	jt	js	js	jt	js	jh	jb	zb	zg	zg	jm	jn	gl	gr	gw	
g	gt	gt	gf	gf	gs	gf	gs	gf	gt	gt	gs	gt	gs	gt	gs	gt	gs	gm	gn	gl	gr	gw	gy	
z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	z	
j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	j	
g'	g'	g'	g'	g'	g'	g'	g'	g'	g'	g'	g'	g'	g'	g'	g'	g'	g'	g'	g'	g'	g'	g'	g'	
č'	č'	č'	č'	č'	č'	č'	č'	č'	č'	č'	č'	č'	č'	č'	č'	č'	č'	č'	č'	č'	č'	č'	č'	
š'	š'	š'	š'	š'	š'	š'	š'	š'	š'	š'	š'	š'	š'	š'	š'	š'	š'	š'	š'	š'	š'	š'	š'	
m	mt	mk	m²	mf	ms	mx	mh	mh	mb	md	mg	nz	mj	mg'	mf	mm	ml	mr	mw	my	nl	nr	nw	
n	nt	nk	np	nf	ns	nx	nh	nh	nb	nd	ng	nz	nj	ng'	nf	nm	nl	nr	nw	ny	ln	lr	lw	
l	lt	lk	lp	lf	ls	lx	lh	lh	lb	ld	lg	lz	lj	lg'	lñ	lm	ln	lr	lw	ly	ly	ly	ly	
r	rt	rk	rf	rs	rw	rh	rw	rw	rb	rd	rg	rz	rl	rg	rw	rf	rm	rn	rn	rn	rn	rn	rn	
w	wt	wk	wf	ws	wš	wx	wh	wy	wb	wd	wg	wz	wj	wg'	wf	wn	wn	wl	wr	wy	ym	yn	yl	yw
y	yt	yk	yp	yf	ys	yx	yh	yh	yb	yd	yg	yz	yh	yg	yt	yg'	yt	ym	yn	yl	yr	yw	yy	

TABLE II  
*Medial Consonant Clusters: -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>- (Geminates are included)*

C <sub>2</sub>	t	k	p	f	s	š	č	x	ň	h	b	d	g	z	j	g'	š	m	n	l	r	w	y	
C <sub>1</sub>	tt	kt	kk	tf	ts	tš	ks	kš	th	kh	tb	kb	tg	tz	ts'	kš	km	kn	kl	kr	tw	tr	ty	ky
P	ps	ps	fs	fx	fx	fš	sh	šk	fd	fg	fd	sd	fz	sj	sf'	sm	sn	sl	sr	sw	fy	sy		
F	ft	ft	ff	ss	ss	ss	šš	šš	sb	sd	šd	šd	šg	šj	šf	šm	šn	šl	šr	šw	hy	hy		
S	st	st	sf	ss	ss	ss	šš	šš	ch	xd	hd	hd	hg	xz	hx	xm	hn	hl	hr	hw	xw	xy		
Č	čt	čt	čk	xf	hs	hs	xx	ňň	xb	xd	hd	hd	hz	hj	hn	hm	hn	hl	hr	hw	hy	hy		
X	xt	xt	hf	hs	hs	hs	hh	hh	bb	bd	bg	bz	bj	bg'	bs'	dm	bn	bl	br	dy	dy	gy		
H	ht	ht	hf	hf	hf	hf	hh	hh	bx	bh	dh	dd	dg	bg'	ds'	dm	dn	dl	dr	gr	gw	gw		
B	bt	bt	blk	df	bs	bš	dx	dx	gb	gd	gg	gg	gz	zg	zg'	zm	zn	zl	zt	zw	zw	zw		
D	gt	gt	zf	gf	gs	gš	gh	gh	gb	gd	gb	gb	gz	jj	zg'	jm	jn	jl	jr	gš	gš	gš		
Z	zt	zt	jf	js	js	js	jh	jh	gb	gb	gb	gb	gg	gg	gg'	gm	gn	gl	gr	gš	gš	gš		
J	jč	jč	gf	gs	gs	gs	gh	gh	gb	gb	gb	gb	gg	gg	gg'	qm	qm	ql	qr	gš	gš	gš		
Ć	qt	qt	qf	qf	qf	qf	qh	qh	mb	md	mg	mg	nz	nj	nd'	mf	mn	ml	mr	mw	mw	my		
M	mt	mt	nk	nf	ns	ns	nx	nx	nb	nd	ng	ng	lj	lj	lg'	nf	nn	nl	ln	nr	lw	ly		
N	nt	nt	lk	lf	ls	ls	lx	lx	lb	ld	lg	lg	lz	lj	lg'	lm	ln	ll	rn	rr	rw	ry		
I	lt	lt	rk	rs	rs	rs	rx	rx	rb	rd	rg	rg	rz	lj	rg'	rl	rn	rn	rn	rr	rr	rr		
R	rt	rt	wt	ws	ws	ws	wh	wh	yb	yd	yg	yz	yj	wj	yg'	ym	yn	yl	yr	yy	yy	yy		

TABLE III  
*Medial Consonant Clusters: -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-*

C <sub>2</sub>	t	k	p	f	s	š	č	x	h	h	b	d	g	z	j	g'	č'	č	m	n	l	r	w	y
C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub>	tt	ttf	ttſ	ttb	ttb	ttg	ttg	ttg	ttg	ttg	ttg	ttm	ttn	ttl	ttt	ttt								
kk	kkk	kkf	kkb	kkb	kkf	kkf	kkf	kkf	kkf	kkf	kkm	kkn	kkl	kkk	kkk									
ff	fft	ffb	ffb	fft	fft	fft	fft	fft	fft	ffm	ffn	ffl	fft	fft										
ss	sst	ssf	ssb	ssb	ssf	ssf	ssf	ssf	ssf	ssf	ssm	ssn	ssl	ssr	ssr									
šš	ššš	ššg	ššm	ššn	ššl	ššr	ššr																	
čč	ččč	ččm	ččn	ččl	ččr	ččr																		
xx	xxt	xxd	xxm	xxn	xxl	xxr	xxr																	
hh	hh	hh	hh	hh	hh	hh	hh	hh	hh	hh	hhf	hhm	hhn	hhl	hhr	hhr								
bb	bbt	bbk	bbx	bbx	bbh	bbh	bbh	bbh	bbh	bbh	bbm	bbn	bbt	bbt	bbt									
dd	ddt	ddf	ddg	ddm	ddn	ddt	ddt	ddt																
gg	ggt	ggf	ggg	ggm	ggn	ggt	ggt	ggt																
zz	zjt	zjs	zjs	zjh	zjh	zjh	zjh	zjh	zjh	zjm	zjn	zjl	zjr	zjr										
žž	žžt	žžf	žzs	žzs	žgb	žgb	žgb	žgb	žgb	žgb	žgm	žgn	žgt	žgr	žgr									
čč	ččt	ččf	ččs	ččs	čgb	čgb	čgb	čgb	čgb	čgb	čgm	čgn	čgt	čgr	čgr									
mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mm	mms	mms	mmd	mmd	mmd	mmd	mmd	mmd	mnn	mnn	mnl	mnr	mnr	
nn	nn	nn	nn	nn	nn	nn	nn	nn	nn	nn	nnš	nnš	nnh	nnh	nnh	nnh	nnh	nnh	nnm	nnn	nnl	nnr	nnr	
ll	ll	llt	llk	lld	lld	lg	lg	lg	lg	lg	lg	llm	lln	llt	llr	llr								
rr	rr	rrt	rrk	rrf	rrf	rrg	rrg	rrg	rrg	rrg	rrg	rrm	rrn	rrt	rrr	rrr								
ww	wwt	yyt	yyt	yyd	yyd	yyd	yyd	yyd	yyd	ymm	ymn	ymt	ymr	ymr										
yy	yy	yyt	yyk	yyh	yyh	yyg	yyg	yyg	yyg	yyg	yyg	yyf	yyf	yyt	yyr	yyr								

TABLE IV  
*Final Consonant Clusters: -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>*

6.7. ATTESTED CONSONANT CLUSTERS IN *səʃi:di*

Tables I, II, III, and IV indicate all attested consonant clusters in *səʃi:di*.

Medial clusters of the pattern -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>-

/tfk tfh tfl tsh tšk tzk ktm ktl ksr ftl fsh fsl fšt fšl/  
/fzr fžx stl sgr štm škl xtm šsr ššr htk hdr hjr hml/  
/btl bdr gsm zkr gsl ſkm ſfs ſsr ſdk ſdh ſgl msk mňh mdg ntr nsl/  
/nšr nxl ndk ndh ndr ngl nzr ltx lkm lfz lbd ldm lgf lgm wsl wgf wzn/  
/rtl rkt rkz rfs rbt rdh rdm rgt rgl rgl rmh/

## 7. MORPHOPHONEMIC ALTERNATION

### 7.1. TYPES OF MORPHOPHONEMIC ALTERNATION IN *səSi:di*

- 1) Phonologically conditioned alternation:
  - (a) alternation of vowels,
  - (b) epenthesis,
  - (c) elision,
  - (d) assimilation of consonants,
  - (e) emphatic vowel harmony (treated under "Emphasis").
- (2) Morphologically conditioned alternation: Stem variation (treated under "Morphemics").

### 7.2.

Shifts of stress occur in accordance with the rules mentioned in 2.3.5. above.

### 7.3. ALTERNATION OF VOWELS (RULES GOVERN EMPHATIC AND NON-EMPHATIC VOWELS)

#### (1) Quantitative:

Shortening of long vowels. A long vowel in the microsegment alternates with the corresponding short vowel when the microsegment is followed in close transition by a sequence including a long vowel or -VCC, where -V is other than the long vowel in the microsegment:

- |                   |                         |               |                   |
|-------------------|-------------------------|---------------|-------------------|
| 1. a. /gé:t/      | 'field'                 | /geté:n/      | 'two fields'      |
| b. /slá:wa/       | 'jar'                   | /slawté:n/    | 'two jars'        |
| c. /fá:t/         | 'he passed by'          | /fató:/       | 'they left him'   |
| 2. a. /getíkshéy/ | 'not your (f.s.) field' | but /gé:thom/ | 'their field'     |
| b. /slawithi/     | 'her jar'               | /slá:wtek/    | 'your (f.s.) jar' |
| c. /fatáthom/     | 'she left them'         | /fá:thi/      | 'he left her'     |

#### (2) Qualitative:

- (a) In monosyllabic microsegments /e/ alternates with /i/, /o/ with /u/ when the

microsegment is followed in close transition by any sequence. Examples:

/bét/ ‘girl’	/bíttu/ ‘his daughter’
/gérð/ ‘monkey’	/gírdé:n/ ‘two monkeys’
/xón/ ‘corner’	/xúnnak/ ‘your (m.s.) corner’

(b) In microsegments stressed on the penult and ending with /i/, /i/ alternates with /a:/ when followed in close transition by a sequence of the structure C~CV(C). /i/ when final in the microsegment alternates with /a/ before /+/ and when /+/ is lost.

Examples:

/Salámni/	‘our flag’
/Salamná:sey/	‘not our flag’
/šayyáñni/	‘we sent’
/šayyañna:hi/	‘we sent her’
/šayyañna:hom/	‘we sent them’
/bírki/ ‘pond’, /bírka zá:/ta ‘a dirty pond’	

(c) The sequence /ey/ when final in the microsegment alternates with /i/ before /+/ and when /+/ is lost. Examples:

/sá:ley/	‘always’
/sá:li+gá:yeš/	‘always wandering (m.s.)’
/ktá:bey/	‘my book’
/ktá:bi+zé:n/	‘my book is good’

(d) The sequence /ow/ when final in the microsegment alternates with /u/ before /+/ and when /+/ is lost. Examples:

/zállagow/	‘they trapped’
/zállagu+lhará:mey/	‘they trapped the thief’

#### 7.4. EPENTHESIS

When /+/ is lost in the environment -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub> + C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>- an epenthetic vowel is inserted between the two clusters. The epenthetic vowel is /i/, always unstressed. Examples:

/tabáñt+klá:bu/	‘I drove away his dogs’
/tabáñtiklá:bu/	

#### 7.5. ELISION

In a sequence ending with /-V:CeC/, /e/ is elided when the sequence comes in close transition with another sequence beginning with V-~V:-. Examples:

/tá:mel/	‘worker’
/tá:mlu/	‘his worker’
/tamlé:n/	‘two worker’s

## 7.6. ASSIMILATION OF CONSONANTS

(1) Progressive assimilation is rare in *ságí:di*. It occurs in the environment  $YC_1 + C_1V$ , when, at the loss of  $/+/$  the resulting geminate includes an emphatic coda and a partially emphatic onset.

(2) Regressive assimilation is the more common type. Regressive assimilation involved in the processes of suffixation and prefixation within the microsegment is treated under Morphemics.

(3) Regressive assimilation in *ságí:di* occurs across  $/+/$  in the environment  $CC_2 + CV$  where the second member of the pre-junctural cluster is assimilated to the postjunctural pre-vocalic consonant. Table V represents possible assimilations in this environment.  $C_1$  (columns) represents the second member in the pre- $/+/$  cluster.  $C_2$  (rows) represents consonants occurring in post- $/+/$  position. Segments are classified on the basis of point of articulation. (.) on the table indicates  $/+/$ . The numerical superscripts refer to the following examples:

- 1. /gálb/ 'heart'  
/gálf+fá:yeg/ 'a contented heart'
- 2. /gánz/ 'goat'  
/gánš+šá:yxi/ 'an old goat'
- 3. /tálg/ 'bullet'  
/tálg+gé:ru/ 'another bullet'

7.7. REGRESSIVE ASSIMILATION RESULTING FROM LOSS OF  $/+/$ 

Table Va represents possible assimilations when  $/+/$  is lost in the environment  $VC + C$ , where a final consonant (post-vocalic pre-junctural) is assimilated to a post-junctural consonant (whether pre-vocalic or first member in an initial cluster).  $C_1$  represents the pre-junctural consonant,  $C_2$ , the post-junctural. The numerical superscripts refer to the following examples.

- (1) /sábát+dakká:/  
/sábaddakká:/ 'the other (fellow's) basket'
- (2) /xábaš+sábxi/  
/xábassábxi/ 'he took seven (in his palm)'
- (3) /bálah+gá:l/  
/bálaḡgá:l/ 'good dates'
- (4) /kátalat+zgé:m/  
/kátalazzgé:m/ 'she killed a mouse'
- (5) /dálag+kfá:yi/  
/dálakkfá:yi/ 'he poured enough (of any liquid)'
- (6) /másak+grá:b/  
/másaggrá:b/ 'he caught a crow'

*Regressive Assimilation Across Juncture*

TABLE Va  
*Regressive Assimilation conditioned by Loss of Juncture*

### 7.8. ASSIMILATION BY LOSS

- (1) /P/ is dropped when /+/ is lost in the environment /-C+?V/. Examples:

/náxl+Pabú:/  
 /náxlabú:/      'his father's palm groves'

- (2) The sequence /PV<sup>L</sup>/ is dropped when /+/ is lost in the environment /V+?V/.

Examples:

/hádda+Paxú:/  
 /háddaxú:/      'he soothed his brother'

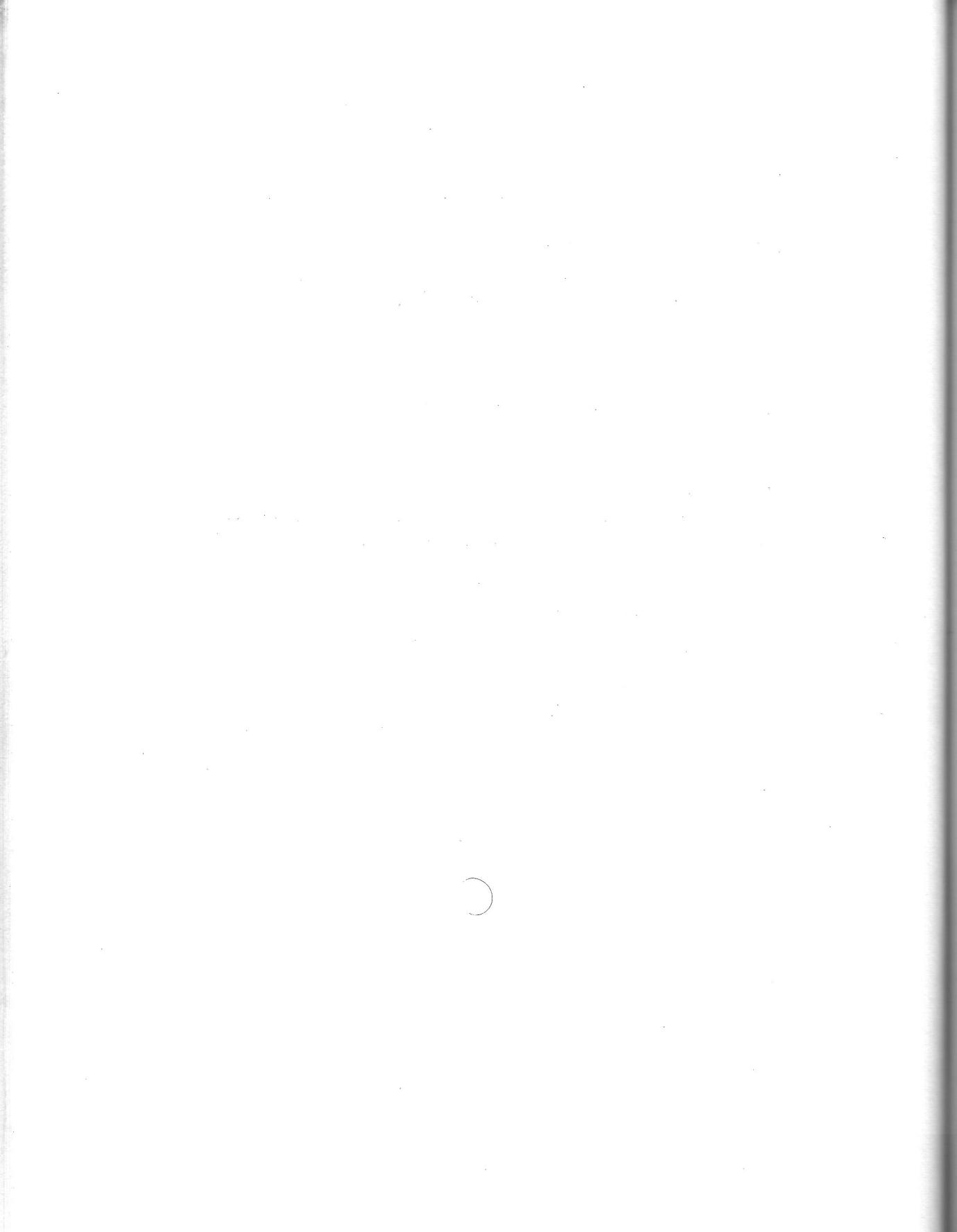
### 7.9. REDUPLICATION

- (1) Final single consonants in monosyllabic microsegments of the structure CVC are reduplicated on coming into close transition with suffixes of the structure V, VC or CV(C).

Examples:            /xáddu/ 'his cheek'  
                       /xáddhi/ 'her cheek'

The only exceptions to this rule are: /kál/ 'he ate' and /xád/ 'he took'. Examples:

/kálat/ 'she ate'  
 /xádow/ 'they took'.



**PART II**

**MORPHEMICS**



C

## 8. saSi:di MORPHEMIC SEGMENTS

### 8.1. SUPRASEGMENTAL MORPHEMES

#### 8.1.1. *Stress*

(a) The citation forms of morphologically minimal words (consisting of a stem minimally CV) occur with a stress morpheme which contains a primary stress and a preceding plus.

(b) The citation forms of morphologically nonminimal words occur with a stress morpheme which contains a primary stress which — as with the morphologically minimal word — falls on the syllables of the word in accordance with the statements given in 2.3.5. as well as a preceding plus.

#### 8.1.2. *Intonation*

A saSi:di intonation contour constitutes an intonation morpheme which co-occurs with a word, a phrase, a clause, or a sentence. saSi:di intonation contours are described in 2.4.

### 8.2. SEGMENTAL MORPHEMES

#### 8.2.1 *Stems*

Noun and verb stems are bimorphemic units, each consisting of:

- (1) a root made up exclusively of consonants,
- (2) a vocalic pattern which consists of at least one vowel.

Consonantal roots as well as vocalic patterns consisting of more than one vowel are by definition discontinuous morphemes. Other form classes than nouns and verbs have stems which consist of contiguous phonemic sequences.

### 8.2.2. *Affixes*

Inflectional: indicates a grammatical category, and may be segmentally overt or covert.

Derivational: changes the form class of the stem, and is segmentally overt.

Affixes include suffixes, prefixes and infixes.<sup>1</sup>

<sup>1</sup> In the present discussion of sq̩i;di morphemics (and syntax), stress will be unmarked unless relevant to the point discussed.

## 9. FORM CLASSES IN *səfi:di*

In terms of inflectional behavior it is possible to establish the following form classes:

(1) Nouns: inflected for number, gender, definiteness and allocation.

(2) Noun-adjectives (henceforth referred to as "adjectives"): a limited number of nouns which fill the modifier slot and agree with the modified noun in number and gender. Adjectives do not have a dual form. The inflectional behavior of adjectives is determined by the slot, not the stem.

(3) Verbs: inflected for aspect, mood, tense, voice, subject and object reference.

(4) Pronouns: inflected for person, gender and number.

(5) Particles: some particles are inflected for allocation.

### 9.1. NOUNS

Nouns in *səfi:di* may be divided into the following six sub-classes on the basis of distributional similarities displayed in the selection of allomorphs of the plural morpheme {L} (arranged on the basis of number of stems in each subclass):

<i>Sub-class</i>	<i>Subs. Reference</i>
/-a:t/	Noun 1
/-Ø/	2
/-i:n/	3
/-i/	4
/-a:n/	5
/-a/	6

#### 9.1.1. *Singular and plural patterns in səfi:di*

Tables VI, VII, VIII, IX, X, and XI show the singular and plural patterns in *səfi:di*.

#### 9.1.2. *Pluralization of nominal sub-classes*

The following observations on the pluralization of nominal sub-classes may be made.

(1) Noun 1 and Noun 3 form the plural by addition of the plural suffix and automatic morphophonemic alternation (described in 7.3.).

(2) Noun 2, Noun 4, Noun 5 and Noun 6 form the plural by addition of the plural suffix and changes in the vocalic pattern of the singular stem.

(3) There is overlapping of singular general patterns (e.g., the pattern C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>V:C<sub>3</sub> appears with Noun 1 (8) and Noun 3 (5), but this fact does not present a problem insofar as the vocalic sub-patterns are different.

(4) There is overlapping of singular vocalic sub-patterns (e.g., sub-pattern C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>a:C<sub>3</sub> appears with Noun 1 (7) and Noun 4 (3)). A singular sub-pattern may have several plural sub-patterns (e.g., singular sub-pattern C<sub>1</sub>a:C<sub>2</sub>eC<sub>3</sub> Noun 2 (11)). Several singular sub-patterns may have one plural sub-pattern (e.g., Noun 2 (20)). This type of overlapping increases the difficulty of prediction of plural patterns.

(5) The following types of noun stems are not included in tables VI-XI:

(a) Nouns ending with the sequence /-ey/ which form the plural by addition of the plural suffix /-i:n/ or /-i/ in free variation, /-ey/ alternates with /-iy-/ (e.g., /turabey/ 'undertaker', /turabiyyi/ or /turabiyyi:n/ 'undertakers'.

Exceptions are few noun stems of the singular general pattern C<sub>1</sub>V:C<sub>2</sub>VC<sub>3</sub> (included in the pertinent sub-classes) in the above mentioned tables. Examples:

/ga:dəy/ 'judge'	/guda/ 'judges'
/sa:səy/ 'rebel'	/sa:sy:n/ 'rebels'

(b) Names of persons (other than those which function as adjectives) and borrowed words which form the plural by addition of the plural suffix /-a:t/ and automatic morphophonemic alternation. Examples:

1. Names

/Piħmad/ a male name	/Piħmada:t/
/fa:tmə/ a female name	/fatma:t/

2. Borrowed words

/šort/ 'short trousers'	/šorta:t/
/ke:k/ 'cake'	/keka:t/

(c) Feminine stems which are formed by addition of /-i/ or /-a/ (allomorphs of {F}) to the masculine singular stem. They form the plural by addition of the plural suffix /-a:t/ and automatic morphophonemic alternation (but participles (active and passive) with (or without) the feminine suffix /-i/ or /-a/ form the plural with /-i:n/ and automatic morphophonemic alternation). Examples:

m.s.	f.s.	pl.
/ħaki:m/ 'physician'	/ħaki:mi/	/ħakima:t/
/dəb/ 'bear'	/dubba/	/dubba:t/

### 9.1.3. Dual number

The dual is signalled by suffixing /-e:n/ to the singular stem. Examples:

/gi:t/	/gite:n/	'two small amounts'
/gefʃ/	/gifle:n/	'two locks'

#### 9.1.4. Dual Forms

Apart from automatic vowel alternation, the following observations may be made about dual forms.

- (1) The allomorphs /-i/ and /-a/ of {F} alternate with /-t/ before /-e:n/. Examples:

/birri:mi/	/birrimte:n/	'two corkscrews'
/ħašara/	/ħašarte:n/	'two insects'

- (2) Final /-y/ in monosyllabic stems of the structure CVC is reduplicated before /-e:n/. Examples:

/xay/	/xayye:n/	'two brothers'
/ħay/	/ħayye:n/	'two snakes'

#### 9.1.5. Gender

9.1.5.1. səSi:di noun stems may be subdivided into:

- (1) inherently masculine noun stems,
  - (2) noun stems in which the feminine gender is signalled by the feminine morpheme {F} which has the following allomorphs:
- (a) /-Ø/: with feminine stems in which gender is not overtly indicated (e.g., /ra:s/ 'head');
  - (b) /-i/: with non-emphatic noun stems and emphatic noun stems ending with the sequences:  
-Vyyi (e.g., /battaniyyi/ 'blanket')  
-CV:Ci (e.g., /dama:ni/ 'collateral')
  - (c) /-t-/: when followed in close transition by suffixes of the structure V(C): (e.g., /tiffaħte:n/ 'two apples')
  - (d) /-it/: 1. Phonologically conditioned: when followed in close transition by suffixes of the structure CV(C): (e.g., /tiffaħithi/ 'her apple';  
2. Syntactically conditioned: when the feminine noun occurs as head of a genitival nominal phrase: (e.g., /tiffaħħit ħassan/ 'Hassan's (male name) apple').
  - (e) /-a/ elsewhere (e.g., /balta/ 'axe').

9.1.5.2. Gender in plural nouns:

Gender is unsignalled in plural nouns. Singular masculine and singular feminine stems may select the same plural suffix. The following examples illustrate this point.

*Nominal*

<i>Sub-class</i>	<i>Singular</i>	<i>Plural</i>
Noun 1	/mdarrsi/ 'woman teacher'	/mdarra:t/
	/baka:n/ 'place' (m.)	/bakana:t/
Noun 2	/rɑ:s/ 'head' (f.)	/ru:s/
	/berj/ 'tower' (m.)	/bru:j/
	/ze:ni/ 'good' (f.)	/zeni:n/
Noun 3	/xɑrɑ:bɑ/ 'ruin' (f.)	/xɑrɑbi:n/
	/mayyet/ 'dead' (m.)	/mayyti:n/
Noun 4	/waḥiyyi/ 'oasis inhabitant' (f.)	/waḥiyyi/ or /waḥiyyi:n/
	/wa:hey/ 'oasis inhabitant' (m.)	
Noun 5	/ħe:ta/ 'wall' (f.)	/ħita:n/
	/gɛ:t/ 'field' (m.)	/gita:n/
Noun 6	/šari:fi/ 'noble' (f.)	/šarafa/
	/šari:f/ 'noble' (m.)	

9.1.6. *Definiteness*

*səfi:di* nouns are inflected for definiteness either overtly by prefixing /Pil-/ to the noun stem or covertly by:

- (1) Class membership: as is the case with proper nouns:
- (2) Position: (a) as head of a genitival nominal phrase, (b) filler of the head slot after the vocative particle /ya/, (c) as head of a nominal construct.

9.1.7. /Pil-/ has the allomorph PiC<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub> where C<sub>1</sub> represents any dental, alveolar or palatal consonant (except /č/). It has the allomorph /li-/ before noun stems beginning with CC-, /l-/ elsewhere. Examples:

/Piddáb/ 'the hyena', /liħsé:n/ 'the fox', /lkálb/ 'the dog'.

9.1.8. Inflection of nouns for definiteness and allocation are — as elsewhere in *səfi:di* — mutually exclusive.

## 9.2. ADJECTIVES

9.2.1. *Singular and plural patterns of adjectives*

There are four sub-classes of adjectives, classified on the basis of distributional similarities displayed in the selection of the plural suffix (arranged on the table on the basis of the number of stems belonging to each sub-class).

<i>Sub-class</i>	<i>Subs. Reference</i>
/-i:n/	Adjective 1

/-Ø/	Adjective 2
/-i/	Adjective 3
/-a/	Adjective 4

In tables XII, XIII, and XIV, of adjective subclasses, N = noun; numbers in parentheses refer to singular general patterns.

9.2.1.1. Adjective 1 comprises stems of noun 3. Examples:

/najja:j/	'talkative' (Noun 3 (2))
/rajle:n najja:ji:n/	'two talkative men'
/rijja:la najja:ji:n/	'talkative men'

### 9.2.2. *The Pluralization of Adjective Sub-Classes*

The following observations on the pluralization of adjective sub-classes may be made.

(1) Adjective 1 forms the plural by addition of the suffix /-i:n/ and automatic morphophonemic alternation.

(2) Adjective 2 forms the plural by addition of /Ø/ and variation in the vocalic pattern of the singular stem.

(3) Adjective 3 forms the plural by addition of the suffix /-i/, variation in the vocalic pattern of the singular stem or automatic morphophonemic alternation. All noun stems ending with the sequence /-ey/ — not included in Table XIII — function as Adjective 3, with the exceptions mentioned in 9.1.2(5a) above.

(4) Adjective 4 forms the plural by addition of the suffix /-a/ and variation in the vocalic pattern of the singular stem.

(5) The following adjective stems do not have plural forms:

- (a) /baraka/ 'blessed' or 'blessing'  
/ħar/ 'warm' or 'warmth'  
/ʃa:l/ 'excellent'
- (b) Comparative adjective stems:  
/Piddya:ba Pawfar min lika:b/  
'wolves are fiercer than dogs'

#### 9.2.2.1. Agreement with nouns:

##### 9.2.2.1.1. Number and gender. Adjectives

(1) agree with singular nouns in number and gender. Examples:

/g <u>e</u> t/	'field (m.)'
/g <u>e</u> t wa:se <u>i</u> /	'wide field'
/t <u>ur</u> ga/	'corridor (f.)'
/t <u>ur</u> ga wa:s <u>i</u> /	'wide corridor'

(2) show plural form when modifying dual and plural nouns. Examples:

Dual	/g <u>e</u> t <u>e</u> n was <u>i</u> :n/	'two wide fields'
	/t <u>ur</u> g <u>e</u> n was <u>i</u> :n/	'two wide corridors'

Plural /gita:n wasi:n/  
 /turga:t wasi:n/

### 9.2.2.2. Definiteness:

(1) Adjectives may or may not agree with nouns in definiteness in post-nominal position. Examples:

/lkalb wa:ser/ ‘the dog is fierce’  
 /lkalb lwa:ser/ ‘the dog (which is) fierce’

(2) In pre-nominal position adjectives do not show agreement with nouns in definiteness. Examples:

/wa:ser lkalb/ ‘the dog is fierce’  
 Lit. ‘fierce is the dog’

### 9.2.3. Numerical adjectives

#### 9.2.3.1. Cardinal numerical adjectives:

##### 9.2.3.1.1. Distribution.

(1) /wa:hed/ ‘one’ agrees with the modified noun in gender and definiteness. When definite, /wa:hed/ occurs only in post-nominal position (e.g., /pirra:jel lwa:hed/ ‘the one man’).

(2) /tne:n/ ‘two’ occurs before plural nouns (e.g., /tne:n fa:fali/ ‘two workers’) and after dual nouns (e.g., /sabate:n tne:n/ ‘two baskets’). /tne:n/ agrees with the modified noun in definiteness (e.g., /pisabaten Pittne:n/ ‘the two baskets’).

(3) Cardinal numerical adjectives from 3 to 10 occur with plural nouns, in pre- or post-nominal position. In post-nominal position 3 to 10 agree with the modified noun in definiteness, whereas in pre-nominal position they may or may not agree with the modified noun in definiteness. Cardinals from 3 to 10 are not inflected for gender. Examples:

/xamas byu:t/ ‘five houses’  
 /lxamas sa:jara:t/ ‘the five trees’.

(4) Cardinal numerical adjectives from 11 upward are uninflected, and occur:

(a) definite or indefinite in pre-nominal position, with indefinite singular nouns. Examples:

/ħda:šer be:t/ ‘eleven houses’  
 /liħda:šer be:t/ ‘the eleven houses’.

(b) definite in post-nominal position with plural definite nouns (e.g., /libyu:t liħda:šer/ ‘the eleven houses’).

##### 9.2.3.1.2. Ordinal numerical adjectives

(1) modify singular nouns (e.g., /xa:mes ja:wab/ ‘the fifth letter’).

(2) Ordinals from 1 to 10 occur uninflected in pre-nominal position. In post-nominal position ordinals from 1 to 10 agree with the modified noun in gender and definiteness. Examples:

/gubba xa:msi/ ‘a fifth (f.) dome (f.)’  
 /lgubba lxa:msi/ ‘the fifth (f.) dome (f.)’

(3) Ordinal numerical adjectives from 11 upward occur in post-nominal position and agree with the modified noun in definiteness:

/lyo:m lxamsi:n/ ‘the fiftieth day’.

#### 9.2.4. Comparison of adjectives

##### 9.2.4.1. The comparative degree:

(1) Participial adjectives,<sup>1</sup> active (e.g., /fa:hem/ ‘understanding’), and passive (e.g., /mafhu:m/ ‘understood’) form the comparative by a phrase in which one of the intensifiers — /Paktar/ ‘more’, /Pagal/ ‘less’, /Paḥsan/ ‘better’ — occurs followed or not followed by a /min/-phrase in post-adjectival position (e.g., /ra:jel mafhu:m Paktar min ge:ru/ ‘a man better understood than others’). The phrase of comparison occurs in post-nominal position. The adjective agrees with the noun in number and gender.

(2) Other adjectives than participials form the comparative with the comparison morpheme {Pa} prefixed to the comparative stem of the adjective. Adjectives with the prefix /Pa-/ occur in post-nominal position, may or may not agree with the noun in definiteness, and are not inflected for number or gender.

##### 9.2.4.2. The superlative degree:

The comparative adjective with /Pa-/ signals the superlative degree in the following positions: (a) pre-nominal (e.g., /Pabrad yo:m/ ‘the coolest day’); (b) pre-nominal, followed in post-nominal position by /fi-/ phrase (e.g., /Pabrad yo:m fišsaher/ ‘the coolest day in the month’).

9.2.4.3. Adjectives which form comparison by a phrase signal the superlative degree by occurrence in post-nominal position, showing agreement with the modified noun in number and gender, with the intensifier occurring in pre-nominal position. Example:

/Paktar wad ḥadda:t/  
 ‘the most talkative boy of all’.

Superlative adjectives are inflected for allocation: /Pasmārhom/ ‘the brownest of them’.

### 9.3. VERBS

#### 9.3.1. Verb classes

*səfi:di* verbs may be divided into the following sub-classes on the basis of vocalic pattern relationship between the perfective and the imperfective stems of the third singular masculine forms. Each sub-class is labelled by the type of nucleus of the stem final syllable of the imperfective form:

<sup>1</sup> Few active participial adjectives compare with the prefix /Pa-/ (e.g., /Panjaḥ/ ‘more successful’).

<i>Sub-class</i>	<i>Subs. Reference</i>
/i/	Verb <sub>1a</sub>
/i:/	Verb <sub>1b</sub>
/e/	Verb <sub>2</sub>
/a/	Verb <sub>3</sub>
/u:/	Verb <sub>4</sub>
/o/	Verb <sub>5</sub>

The following symbols are used in tables XV-XIX, which represent the verb sub-classes.

Mon.	= monoliteral stem
Bi.	= biliteral stem
Tri.	= triliteral stem
Quad.	= quadrilateral stem
SIL	= stem initial syllable
SFL	= stem final syllable

Unless otherwise indicated, verb stem = third singular masculine perfective aspect stem, which is unmarked.

### 9.3.2. *Verbal Sub-Classes*

The following observations may be made on verbal sub-classes.

- (1) The maximal vocalic pattern of the verb stem is two vowels.
- (2) The first vowel in bisyllabic perfective stems in forming the imperfective aspect is either (a) reduced, when the stress shifts to the prefix. Example:

/másak/ ‘he caught’  
/yímsek/ ‘he catches’

- (b) remains unchanged (e.g., all the quadrilateral stems of Verb 2).

### 9.3.3. *Verb inflection*

#### 9.3.3.1. Aspect:

9.3.3.1.1. The position of the pronominal affix indicates aspect, which is either perfective or imperfective. Pronominal suffixes indicate the perfective aspect, pronominal prefixes indicate the imperfective aspect. Apart from indicating aspect, pronominal affixes indicate subject and object. Subject pronouns indicate person, gender and number of the subject: three persons, one gender (feminine), and one number (plural). Masculine gender and singular number categories are un signalled.

9.3.3.1.2. The following two paradigms illustrate this point:

/masak/ ‘he caught’

			<i>Person</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Number</i>
1.	<i>Perfective form</i>				
3.m.s.	masak	masak	~Ø	-Ø	-
3.f.s.	masakat		-at	-Ø-	-at
2.m.s.	masakt		-t	-t	-
2.f.s.	masakti		-ti	-t-	-i
1 s.	masakt		-t	-t	-
3 pl.	masaku		-u	-Ø-	-u
2.pl.	masaktu		-tu	-t-	-u
1.pl.	masakni		-ni	-n-	-i
2.	<i>Imperfective form</i>				
3.m.s.	yimsek	yi~msek	-	yi-	-
3.f.s.	timsek	ti-~Ø		ti-	-Ø
2.m.s.	timsek	ti-	-	ti-	-
2.f.s.	timski	ti~msk	-i	ti-	-i
1.s.	nimsek	ni~msek	-	ni-	-
3 pl.	yimsku	yi~msk~	u	yi-	-u
2 pl.	timsku	ti-	-u	ti-	-u
1 pl.	nimsku	ni-	-u	ni-	-u

9.3.3.1.3. The following observations on subject pronouns may be made.

(1) In addition to indicating aspect by position, subject pronouns have the dual function of signalling subject and agreement in person, gender and number with an independent subject:

/lbana:t katabow/ ‘the girls wrote’  
 /lbagara t<sup>a</sup>:rat/ ‘the cow ran away’.

(2) Comparing the perfective and the imperfective subject pronouns, we notice that if the vowel in the prefixal segments of the imperfective set is eliminated as an epenthetic vowel, the two sets may be combined as follows:

<i>Morpheme</i>	<i>Allomorphs</i>		
	<i>Perfective</i>	<i>Imperfective</i>	
3.m.s.	{y}	-Ø	y-
3.f.s.	{t}	-at	t-
2.m.s.	{t}	-t	t-
2.f.s.	{ti}	-ti	t-i
1 s.	{n}	-t	n-
3 pl.	{yu}	-u	y-u
2 pl.	{tu}	-tu	t-u
1 pl.	{nu}	-ni	n-u

(3) Final /-i/ in subject pronouns, /-ni/ excepted, alternates with /-ey/; final /-u/ alternates with /-ow/ before major junctures. Examples:

/<sup>2</sup> lafé:<sup>3</sup>tey <sup>1</sup>#/ 'you (f.s.) handed'

/<sup>2</sup> lafé:<sup>3</sup>tow <sup>1</sup>#/ 'you (pl.) handed'

/<sup>2</sup> katábni <sup>1</sup>#/ 'we wrote'

- (4) /yu-/, /tu-/, /nu-/ occur before imperfective stems of the structure C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>oC<sub>3</sub>; /y-/, /t-/, /n-/ occur before imperfective stems beginning with the sequence CV-,<sup>1</sup> /yi-/, /ti-/, /ni-/ elsewhere with imperfective stems. Examples:

/yuskot/ 'he keeps silent'

/yganney/ 'he sings'

/yisrey/ 'he/it (m.) creeps'

- 9.3.3.1.4. Object reference. Verbs are inflected for object reference. Object pronouns indicate person, gender and number of the object: three persons, two genders and one number (plural). Singular number as well as gender in the plural forms is un signalled.

/galab/ 'he defeated'

			Person	Gender	Number
3.m.s.	galabu	galab	-u	-Ø-	-u
3.f.s.	galabhi		-hi	-h-	-i
2.m.s.	galabak		-ak	-k	-a-
2.f.s.	galabek		-ek	-k	-e-
1 s.	galabni		-ni	-ni	-Ø
3 pl.	galabhum	galab	-hum	h-	-um
2 pl.	galabkum		-kum	k-	-um
1 pl.	galabni		-ni	n-	-i

### 9.3.3.1.5. Non-subject pronouns.

- (1) A formally and distributionally similar set to object pronouns indicates allocation. The two sets, the object and allocative pronouns, may be collapsed into one, labelled non-subject pronouns. The first person singular /-ni/ occurs in post-verbal position and has the allomorph /-i/ elsewhere. The third person singular /-u/ has the allomorph /-Ø/ when suffixed to subject pronouns ending with -V, prepositional forms and /Padi/ 'this'. /-ak/ and /-ek/ have the allomorphs /-k/ and /-key/ respectively in the same environments.

(2) /-hum/ and /-kum/ have the allomorphs /-hom/, /-kom/ before major juncture.

(3) First singular /-ni/ has the allomorph /-ney/ before major juncture.

(4) First plural /-ni/ has the allomorph /-na/ before or at the loss of /+/.

- (5) On the syntactic level non-subject pronouns fill the object slot in declarative verbal sentences, by occurrence in close transition with verb stems inflected for subject reference (i.e., verbal construct). Non-subject pronouns fill the modifier slot in a nominal construct (see 14.2 below).

<sup>2</sup> Pronominal prefixes beginning with /t-/ have allomorphs beginning with /Pi-/ when prefixed to stems beginning with /t-/ or /d-/ (e.g., t-~da:grow/ : /Pidda:grow/ 'you (pl.) try').

### 9.3.3.1.6. Mood.

#### (A) The imperative mood.

(a) *səq̩i:di* verb stems are inflected for the imperative mood<sup>3</sup> which is indicated by the prefix {Pi}. The imperative stem is that of the imperfective aspect. {Pi} has the following allomorphs:

1. /Pu-/ before stems of the structure CCoC;

/Pusnot/ ‘keep quiet (m.s.)!’  
 /Puq̩kom/ ‘catch (m.s.)!’

/Pi-/ before other stems of the structure CCVC:

/Pimsek/ ‘hold (m.s.)!’  
 /Pisref/ ‘spend (m.s.)!’

2. /Ø-/ elsewhere: /gi:l/ ‘forgive! (m.s.)’

(b) The imperative stem is inflected for gender (feminine) in the shape of the suffix /-i/ (/ey/ before major juncture) and number (plural) in the shape of the suffix /-u/ (/ow/ before major junctures). Examples:

/ši:l/ ‘go away (m.s.)!’  
 /ši:ley/ ‘go away (f.s.)!’  
 /ši:low/ ‘go away (pl.)!’

#### (B) The desiderative mood.

(a) *səq̩i:di* verbs with stems of the structure  $C_1C_2eC_3$  and  $C_1aC_2aC_3$  are inflected for the desiderative<sup>4</sup> mood which is indicated by the morpheme {sta} which has the allomorphs /sta-/ for the perfective, and /-sta-/ for the imperfective. Examples:

/greb/ ‘he/it (m.) came near’  
 /stagrab/ ‘he thought (it was) near’  
 /yistagrab/ ‘he thinks (it is) near’

(b) With stems of the structure  $C_1C_2eC_3$  /sta-/ is prefixed to the imperfective aspect stem /-sta-/ to the perfective aspect stem. Examples:

/yibrad/ ‘he feels cold’  
 /stabrad/ ‘he thought (it was) cold’  
 /bred/ ‘he felt cold’  
 /yistabred/ ‘he thinks (it is) cold’

(c) With stems of the structure  $C_1aC_2aC_3$ , the desiderative forms are

sta<sup>~</sup> $C_1C_2aC_3$  e.g., /halaf/ ‘he swore’  
 /staħlaf/ ‘he wanted (him) to swear’  
 yista<sup>~</sup> $C_1C_2eC_3$  /yistaħlef/ ‘he wants (him) to swear’

<sup>3</sup> /ji/ ‘he came’ has no imperative form; /ha:t/ ‘bring (m.s.)’ and /taħħa:li/ ‘come (m.s.)’ are inflected only for the imperative mood.

<sup>4</sup> The term estimative-desiderative may be equally satisfactory.

## 9.3.3.1.7. Tense.

(1) Durative: indicated by prefixing /ʃa-/ to the imperfective aspect form (e.g., /ʃaya:kel/ 'he is eating').

(2) Future: indicated by prefixing /ha-/ to the imperfective aspect form (e.g., /haya:kel/ 'he will eat').<sup>5</sup>

## 9.3.3.1.8. Voice. The passive voice is indicated by the morpheme {pit}.

(1) The passive voice (perfective) is indicated by /pit-/ prefixed to perfective aspect stems other than stems of the structure C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>eC<sub>3</sub> (e.g., /pitgasam/ : /tgasam/ 'it was divided' : (/gasam/ 'he divided')).

(2) The passive voice (imperfective) is indicated by /yit-/ (/yi- -pit-, see 7.8 above) prefixed to perfective aspect stems other than those of the structure C<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>i, C<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>a, C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>eC<sub>3</sub>, C<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>aC<sub>3</sub> (e.g., /yitnasa:sas/ 'it is filled' (/nasa:sas/ 'he filled')).

(3) Perfective passive form of stems of the structure C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>eC<sub>3</sub> is

$$\text{pit} \frown \text{C}_1\text{aC}_2\text{aC}_3$$

(e.g., /šreb/ 'he/it (m.) drank' : /tšarab/ 'it [e.g., tea] was drunk').

## (4) Imperfective passive forms of stems of the structure

{ C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> i	yit	—	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> ey	/sali/	'he fried'
				/yitsiley/	'it is fried'
{ C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> a				/gara/	'he read'
				/yitgirey/	'it is read'
{ C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>	yit	—	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>	/řref/	'he knew'
				/yitřiref/	'he is known'
{ C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>				/řamal/	'he made'
				/yitřimel/	'it is made'

## (5) The passive forms of /xad/ 'he took' are:

Perfective /Pitta:xad/  
Imperfective /yitta:xad/

## (6) /ji/ has no passive forms.

9.3.3.1.9. The causative voice is indicated by the morpheme {C}, an infix which has the following allomorphs.

(1a) Reduplication of -C<sub>2</sub>- in biliteral and triliteral verb stems. Examples:

- /mali/ 'he filled'
- /malli/ 'he caused to fill'
- /saraf/ 'he spent'
- /sarraf/ 'he caused to spend'

<sup>5</sup> Future tense may be expressed by /ra:yęħ/ 'going to' + the imperfective aspect form of the verb (e.g., /ra:yęħ yjey/ 'he will come').

(1b) In biliteral stems of the type C<sub>1</sub>a:C<sub>2</sub>, when the imperfective aspect stem nucleus is /-i:-/ or /-u:-/, /-i:-/ alternates with /-ayya-/; /-u:-/ with /-awwa-/. Examples:

- |          |                      |
|----------|----------------------|
| /ja:b/   | 'he brought'         |
| /yji:b/  | 'he brings'          |
| /jayyab/ | 'he caused to bring' |
| /fa:t/   | 'he passed by'       |
| /yfu:t/  | 'he passes by'       |
| /fawwat/ | 'he caused to pass'  |

(1c) In triliteral stems of the structure C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>eC<sub>3</sub> (e.g., /šreb/ 'he/it drank'), /-e-/ alternates with /-a--a-/ (e.g., /šarrab/ 'he caused to drink'). When -C<sub>3</sub> is /y/, it is dropped:

- |                  |                               |
|------------------|-------------------------------|
| /drey/           | 'he got accustomed'           |
| /d <u>arr</u> a/ | 'he caused to get accustomed' |

(2) /-θ-/ allomorph with triliteral stems of the type C<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>2</sub>i and C<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>C<sub>2</sub>a and quadrilateral stems. Examples:

- |                  |  |
|------------------|--|
| /ʃabbi/          | 'he packed' or 'he caused to pack'             |
| /ʃarr <u>a</u> / | 'he uncovered' or 'he caused to uncover'       |
| /sabras/         | 'he went quickly' or 'he caused to go quickly' |

#### 9.3.4. *The morphophonemics of the səSi:di verb*

Apart from the vocalic change which the stem may undergo, there are the following morphophonemic changes which occur when the stem comes in close transition with a suffix.

(1) Dropping of the final vowel:

- |        |           |         |            |
|--------|-----------|---------|------------|
| /maši/ | 'he left' | /mašat/ | 'she left' |
|--------|-----------|---------|------------|

(2) The sequence /-ey/ final alternates with /i:/ before suffixes of the structure C, CV(C):

- |          |                   |
|----------|-------------------|
| /hdey/   | 'he became quiet' |
| /hdi:ni/ | 'we became quiet' |

(3) The prefixes, /pit-/, /yit-/, /tit-/, /nit-/, have allomorphs of the type CiC<sub>1</sub> where C<sub>1</sub> represents /t d s z š j/ when in close transition with stems starting with any of those consonants (e.g., /yiʃallad/ 'he endures').

(4) /yi-/ has the allomorph /y-/ when in close transition with stems beginning with the sequence CV- (e.g., /ykalle/<sup>m</sup> /'he talks (to)').

(5) /pit-/ has the allomorph /t-/ when in close transition with stems beginning with the sequence CV- (e.g., /tʃamal/ 'it (m.) was made').

TABLE VI  
Noun I

Reference No.	General Pattern	Singular		Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
		Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms			
1a	C <sub>1</sub> V:C <sub>1</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> a:C <sub>1</sub> a C <sub>1</sub> u:C <sub>1</sub> a	/ga:ga/ 'commotion' /gu:ga/ 'owl' /xo:xa/ 'peach' /si:rl/ 'small fish' /we:bɪ/ 'a grain measure' /sə:ta/ 'quarrel' /sa:di/ 'habit' /zə:ta/ 'dirty pond' /fʊ:lɪ/ 'grain of beans' /tu:bɑ:/ 'small rock' /ko:li/ 'heap' /tɔ:rə/ 'four' (used in counting fruits and vegetables)	/gə:gə:t/ /gu:gu:t/ /xo:xa:t/ /sɪ:g:t/ /wɛ:bɪ:t/ /sə:ta:t/ /sa:da:t/ /zə:ta:t/ /fʊ:lɪ:t/ /tu:bɑ:t/ /ko:la:t/ /tɔ:rə:t/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>1</sub> a:t C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>1</sub> a:t C <sub>1</sub> oC <sub>1</sub> a:t C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>1</sub> a:t C <sub>1</sub> eC <sub>1</sub> a:t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>1</sub> a:t
1b	C <sub>1</sub> V:C <sub>2</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> i:C <sub>2</sub> a C <sub>1</sub> u:C <sub>2</sub> a C <sub>1</sub> o:C <sub>2</sub> a C <sub>1</sub> a:C <sub>2</sub> a	/habbi/ 'a kiss' /habba/ 'a lioness' /rumna/ 'a heavy load' /brɛt/ 'a fool' /badai/ 'replacement' /wirti/ 'inheritance' /gatli/ 'a beating' /dagra/ 'frown' /nugra/ 'a pit' /śariki/ 'company' /badani/ 'a family' /baraka/ 'a blessing'	/simnat/ /habba:t/ /labbat/ /rummat/ /brɪttə:t/ /badala:t/ /wirta:t/ /gatla:t/ /dagra:t/ /nugra:t/ /śarika:t/ /badana:t/ /barakat/	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> a:t C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> a:t C <sub>1</sub> oC <sub>2</sub> a:t C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> a:t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> a:t
2	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> i C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> i C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> i C <sub>1</sub> lC <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> a C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> i C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> i C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> a	/sinni/ 'a tooth' /habbi/ 'a kiss' /habba/ 'a lioness' /rumna/ 'a heavy load' /brɛt/ 'a fool' /badai/ 'replacement' /wirti/ 'inheritance' /gatli/ 'a beating' /dagra/ 'frown' /nugra/ 'a pit' /śariki/ 'company' /badani/ 'a family' /baraka/ 'a blessing'	/simnat/ /habba:t/ /labbat/ /rummat/ /brɪttə:t/ /badala:t/ /wirta:t/ /gatla:t/ /dagra:t/ /nugra:t/ /śarika:t/ /badana:t/ /barakat/	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> a:t C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> a:t C <sub>1</sub> lC <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub> a:t C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> a:t C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> a:t C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> a:t C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> i:t C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> a:t C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> i:t C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> a:t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> a:t
3	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>				C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> a:t	
4	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>				C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> iC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>2</sub> a:t	
5	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> V				C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> a:t	
6	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> V				C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> a:t	

Table VI (Continued)

Refer- ence No.	Singular			Plural		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
7	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub>	/jra:b/ 'a leather case'	/rabat/	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> :t
8a	C <sub>1</sub> Y <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> iC <sub>2</sub>	/hasi:s/ 'an (amount) of grass'	/hašat/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> Y <sub>2</sub> YC <sub>2</sub> :t
8b	C <sub>1</sub> Y <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> iC <sub>3</sub>	/halib/ 'an (amount) of milk'	/halibat/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> iC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> Y <sub>2</sub> YC <sub>3</sub> :t
9	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> V	/tala:g/ 'divorce (n.)'	/talaga:t/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t
		C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> V	/ktabi:/ 'writing'	/ktaba:t/	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t
		C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> V	/traga:/ 'a (big) amount'	/traga:t/	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> :t
10	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> i:C <sub>3</sub> V	/hmuli:/ 'weight'	/hmulat/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> iC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub> :t
		C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> i:C <sub>3</sub> V	/katini/ 'a (watch) chain'	/katinat/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub> :t
		C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> i:C <sub>3</sub> V	/kaha:li/ 'a black spot'	/kahalat/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub> :t
		C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> V	/gara:fa/ 'cemetery'	/garafat/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> :t
		C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> V	/jamusi:/ 'a buffalo'	/jamusat/	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> :t
		C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> V	/birri:mi/ 'a screw'	/birrimat/	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> :t
		C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> V	/jimme:zi/ 'a kind of fruit'	/jimmezat/	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> :t
		C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> V	/simma:n/ 'a pigeonlike bird'	/simmanat/	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> :t
		C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> V	/samma:Si/ 'a peg'	/samma:Sat/	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> :t
		C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> V	/rumma:ni/ 'a pomegranite'	/rummana:t/	C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> :t
		C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> V	/sribba:/ 'a railway term'	/sribbat/	C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> :t
		C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> V	/buniyi:/ 'a fist'	/buniyyat/	C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> :t
		C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> V	/kalabs/ 'hand-cuff'	/kalabsat/	C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> YC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> :t
		C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> V	/trumba/ 'a pump'	/trumbat/	C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> YC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> :t
		C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> V	/turbid/ 'torpedo'	/turbidat/	C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> YC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> :t
		C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> V	/gartafa/ 'a small theft'	/gartafat/	C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> YC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> :t
		C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> V	/mustafa/ 'a favoured person'	/mustafat/	C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> YC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> :t
		C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> V	/huri:jm/ 'a threat'	/huri:jmat/	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> YC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> :t
		C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> V	/jafta:ni/ 'teen female animal (cow etc.)'	/jaftangat/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> aC <sub>4</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> YC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> :t
12	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>3</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	/xartuši/ 'a bullet'	/xartušat/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> aC <sub>4</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> YC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> :t
13	C <sub>1</sub> Y <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>3</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> iC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	/xarsufa/ 'artichoke'	/xarsufat/	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> aC <sub>4</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> YC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> :t
14	C <sub>1</sub> Y <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> iC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub>	/Pistifha:m/ 'enquiry'	/Pistifhamat/	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> aC <sub>4</sub> :t	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> YC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> :t
15	C <sub>1</sub> Y <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> iC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub>				
16	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> V:C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> aC <sub>4</sub>				
17	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> V:C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> aC <sub>4</sub>				
18	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> V:C <sub>4</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> aC <sub>4</sub> V				
19	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>4</sub> C <sub>5</sub> V:C <sub>6</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> jC <sub>4</sub> C <sub>6</sub> :C <sub>5</sub>				

TABLE VII  
Noun 2

Reference No.	Singular			Plural			
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern	
1	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> eC <sub>2</sub>	/ser/ 'a secret' /mer/ 'a sour material' /sad/ 'dam' /mox/ 'brain' /re:S/ 'profit' /ra:s/ 'head' /si:S/ 'an oriental smoking device' /si:mi/ 'movies' /xe:mij/ 'tent' /ʃumi/ 'grain store' /furi/ 'a towel' /ʃɔ:ta/ 'epidemic' /sabab/ 'reason' /zimmi/ 'conscience' /kissa/ 'share (n.)' /gulli/ 'jar' /gniba/ 'dome' /beri/ 'tower' /kalb/ 'dog' /bad/ 'full moon' /xorj/ 'canvas bag' /malek/ 'king' /dakar/ 'male' /jabal/ 'mountain' /bird/ '(Upper Egyptian) robe' /zagl/ 'stick'	/səx/ /mər/ /səd/ /mox/ /rə:S/ /ra:s/ /si:S/ /si:mi/ /xe:mij/ /ʃumi/ /furi/ /ʃɔ:ta/ /sabab/ /zimmi/ /kissa/ /gulli/ /gniba/ /beri/ /kalb/ /bad/ /xorj/ /malek/ /dakar/ /jabal/ /bird/ /zagl/	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> u:C <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> u:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> yV:C <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> Y:C <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> YVC <sub>1</sub> C <sub>1</sub> yVC <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> wVC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> u:C <sub>2</sub>
2	CV:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub>	/C <sub>1</sub> oC <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> u:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> u:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> u:C <sub>2</sub>	
3a	C <sub>1</sub> V:C <sub>2</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> i:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> i:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> i:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> i:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> i:C <sub>2</sub>	
3b	C <sub>1</sub> V:C <sub>2</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> e:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> e:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> e:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> e:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> e:C <sub>2</sub>	
4	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> o:C <sub>2</sub> a	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> i	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> a	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> V	
5	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> u:C <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> a	C <sub>1</sub> u:C <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> i	C <sub>1</sub> u:C <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> a	C <sub>1</sub> u:C <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> u:C <sub>2</sub> V	
6	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> oC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> u:C <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> u:C <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> u:C <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>	
7	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> oC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> oC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> oC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>	
8	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> j	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> j	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>	

Table VII (*Continued*)

Reference No.	Singular			Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms			
9	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>	/dab/ /mhal/ /shar/ /walayef/ /kbar:/ /kawabis/ /kutob/ /karayeb/ /ska:b/ /rukka:b/ /jawa:meq/ /masa:met/ /sy:a:/ /masa:neq/ /bi:d/ /su:l/ /mana:jem/ /garair/ /masamir/ /katatib/ /jadidim/ /kararis/ /sanad:n/ /mathasis/ /safarit/ /kamabii/ /malagirt/ /galasim/ /mayadi:n/ /garamit/	/darba/ 'a blow' /muhi/ 'term of time' /sbyra/ 'a quantity of grain' /wali:f/ 'mate' /kabir:/ 'chief (n.)' /kaburis/ 'nightmare' /kitab:/ 'book' /rkab:/ 'spur (n.)' /sa:hab/ 'friend' /ra:keb/ 'passenger' /ja:meq/ 'mosque' /mismat/ '(light meals) restaurant' /qayel/ 'a boy' /Pišwal/ 'a sinistrous fellow' /Ribyad/ 'white'	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> ayC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> Y:yVC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>
10	C <sub>1</sub> CV <sub>2</sub> :C <sub>3</sub>	/C <sub>1</sub> CV <sub>2</sub> :C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aCV <sub>2</sub> :C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> CV <sub>2</sub> :C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> CV <sub>2</sub> :C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> CV <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>
11	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>	/C <sub>1</sub> at:C <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> at:C <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> at:C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> at:C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>
12	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>	/C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>
13	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>	/C <sub>1</sub> ac:C <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> ac:C <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> ac:C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> ac:C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>
14	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>4</sub>	/C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> aC <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> aC <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> aC <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> aC <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>4</sub>
15	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> V:C <sub>2</sub>	/C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> a:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> a:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>1</sub> i:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>1</sub> i:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>4</sub>
16	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>	/C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> ac <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> ac <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>4</sub>
17	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>	/C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> ac <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> ac <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>4</sub>
18	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> V:C <sub>2</sub>	/C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> a:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> a:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> ac <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> ac <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>2</sub>
19	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>	/C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> ac <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> ac <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>
20	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> V:C <sub>4</sub>	/C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> a:C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> IC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> a:C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> ac <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> ac <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>4</sub>

Table VII (Continued)

Reference No.	Singular			Plural		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
21	$C_1VC_2C_1VC_3V$	$C_1iC_2C_1a:C_4$	/kurba:/ 'a whip' /Pysty:/ 'feet'	/kaabi:/ /Pasati:/	$C_1aC_2a:C_1eC_3$	$C_1VC_3V:C_1VC_3$
22	$C_1VC_2C_3VC_1V$	$C_1iC_2C_1aC_3a$ $C_1iC_2C_3aC_1i$ $C_1iC_2C_3aC_1a$ $C_1iC_2C_3aC_4i$ $C_1iC_2C_3aC_4a$	/mijmara/ 'pot for burning coal' /miglani/ 'box for pencils' /misframa/ 'meat grinding tool' /midrasi/ 'school' /mindara/ 'sitting room'	/majaa:/mer/ /magalem/ /mata:rem/ /madares/ /mana:der/	$C_1aC_2a:C_3eC_1$	$C_1VC_2V:C_3VC_1$
23	$C_1VC_2C_3VC_4V$				$C_1aC_2a:C_3eC_4$	$C_1VC_3V:C_3VC_4$

TABLE VIII  
Noun 3

Refer- ence No.	Singular			Plural		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
1	C <sub>1</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> e:C <sub>2</sub>	/ze:n/ 'good'	/zeni:n/	C <sub>1</sub> eC <sub>2</sub> i:n	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>4</sub> i:n
2	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> a:C <sub>2</sub>	/gassas:i/ 'inquisitive'	/gassas:i:n/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> i:n	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>4</sub> i:n
3	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>3</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>	/hirek/ 'smart'	/hirkim/	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> i:n	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> i:n
4	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> Y:C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> i:C <sub>3</sub>	/mri:d/ 'a (religious) follower'	/mridin/	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> iC <sub>3</sub> i:n	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> i:n
5	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	/saby:r/ 'patient'	/sabyrin/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> i:n	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> i:n
		C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> iC <sub>3</sub>	/munir:/ 'lighted'	/munirin/	C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> iC <sub>3</sub> i:n	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> i:n
6	C <sub>1</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> a:C <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>	/ba:red/ 'cold'	/bardin/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub> i:n	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> i:n
7	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub> Y	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> a	/xara:ba/ '(a humble) house'	/xarabin/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> a:i:n	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> i:n
8	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>	/mayyet/ 'dead'	/maytin/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> eC <sub>3</sub> i:n	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> i:n
9	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub>	/jarray:/ 'speedy (in running)'	/jarrayin/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> i:n	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> i:n
10	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> V:C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> a:C <sub>4</sub>	/tahna:j/ 'spend thrift'	/tahmajin/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> aC <sub>4</sub> i:n	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>4</sub> i:n
		C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> uC <sub>4</sub> i:n	/marbu:š/ 'hasty'	/marbusin/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> uC <sub>4</sub> i:n	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>4</sub> i:n
11	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> eC <sub>4</sub>	/mzabpet/ 'dirty'	/mzabbitin/	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> eC <sub>4</sub> i:n	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>4</sub> i:n
		C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> aC <sub>4</sub>	/mhabbal/ 'foolish'	/mhabbalin/	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> aC <sub>4</sub> i:n	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>4</sub> i:n
12	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> VC <sub>5</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> eC <sub>5</sub>	/mizahnder/ 'thriving'	/mzaahdrin/	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> C <sub>5</sub> i:n	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> VC <sub>5</sub> i:n
		C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> aC <sub>5</sub>	/mxarbat/ 'confused'	/mxarbatin/	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> aC <sub>5</sub> i:n	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>4</sub> VC <sub>5</sub> i:n

TABLE IX  
Noun 4

Refer- ence No.	Singular			Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms			
1	C <sub>1</sub> V:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> i:C <sub>2</sub>	/di:b/ 'wolf'	/dy:bi/	C <sub>1</sub> y:C <sub>2</sub> j	C <sub>1</sub> yV:C <sub>2</sub> i
2	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	/sabat/ 'basket'	/sbitti/	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> iC <sub>3</sub> j	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> i
3	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> :V:C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub>	/ʃna:b/ 'a robust fellow'	/ʃnibbi/	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> iC <sub>3</sub> j	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> j
4	C <sub>1</sub> V:C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> a:C <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>	/fa:Se/ 'worker'	/fa:Sal/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> j	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> i

TABLE X  
Noun 5

Refer- ence No.	Singular			Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms			
1	C <sub>1</sub> V:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> eC <sub>2</sub>	/get/ 'farm' /xa:/ '(maternal) uncle'	/git:an/ /xilan/	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> a:n	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> a:n
		C <sub>1</sub> a:C <sub>2</sub>	/hurt/ 'big fish'	/hiutan/		
		C <sub>1</sub> u:C <sub>2</sub>	/xor/ 'pond'	/xiutan/		
		C <sub>1</sub> o:C <sub>2</sub>	/jadi/ 'male goat'	/jida:n/		
		C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	/halag/ 'ear-rings'	/hilagan/	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> a:n	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> a:n
2	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	/Pʃimi/ 'a blind (fellow)'	/simyan/	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> a:n	C <sub>1</sub> aCyan:n
3	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	/ragif/ 'loaf'	/rugif:a:n/	C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> a:n	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> a:n
4	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> V	/xaruf/ 'lamb'	/xirfa:n/	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> a:n	
5	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>				
		C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> au:C <sub>3</sub>				

TABLE XI  
Noun 6

Refer- ence No.	Singular			Plural		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
1	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	/dab <sup>f</sup> / 'hyena' /sab <sup>f</sup> / 'lion' /šari:k/ 'partner' /ga:dey/ 'judge'	/dbq;Sa/ /sbu;Šai/ /šaraka/ /guða/	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> a C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> u:C <sub>3</sub> a C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> a C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> a	C <sub>1</sub> CaV:C <sub>3</sub> a
2	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> iC <sub>3</sub>				
3	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>				

TABLE XII  
Adjective 2

Nominal Sub- Class	Singular			Plural		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
N2(6)	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> eC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	/gerd/ 'ugly' /šahm/ 'obliging' /šams/ 'sunny' /xorj/ 'weak (in personality)' /malek/ 'king' /Pišimi/ 'blind' /kabir/ 'great' /šinsil/ 'stout' /maštu:/ 'absent minded' /Pišturi/ '(very) smart'	/grud/ /šham/ /šmu:s/ /xruj/ /mluk/ /šimey/ /kbar:/ /šangasi:/ /mašati:/ /Pišturi/	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> uC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> uC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> :C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> CaV:C <sub>3</sub>
N2(7)	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>				
N5(4)	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> i				
N2(9)	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> i:C <sub>3</sub>				
N2(20)	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> CV:C <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> iC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> i:C <sub>4</sub> C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> u:C <sub>4</sub> C <sub>1</sub> uC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> u:C <sub>4</sub>				

TABLE XIII  
*Adjective 3*

Nominal Sub-Class	Singular			Plural		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Forms	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
N4(1)	C <sub>1</sub> V:C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> i:C <sub>2</sub>	/di:b/ 'fierce'	/dy:a:bi/	C <sub>1</sub> y:C <sub>2</sub> i	C <sub>1</sub> yV:C <sub>2</sub> i
N4(3)	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub>	/kɔ:n/ 'robust'	/isjinni/	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> iC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>3</sub> i	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> iV:C <sub>3</sub> i
N4(4)	C <sub>1</sub> V:C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> a:C <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>	/fa:ʃəl/ 'hard working'	/fa:ʃal/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> i	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> i

TABLE XIV  
*Adjective 4*

Nominal Sub-Class	Singular			Plural		
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	Singular Form	Plural Forms	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
N6(1)	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub>	/dabS/ 'greedy'	/dبا:Sa/	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> a:C <sub>3</sub> a	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> V:C <sub>3</sub> a
N1(3)	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> YC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>	/sabS/ 'courageous'	/sbu:Sa/	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> iC <sub>3</sub> C <sub>3</sub> a	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> iV:C <sub>3</sub> a
N6(2)	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> iC <sub>3</sub>	/bret/ 'clumsy'	/brita/	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub> a	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub> a
			/karati/ 'generous'	/karama/		

TABLE XV  
*Verb I*

Type of Stem	Perfective						Imperfective				General Pattern
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	SIL	SFL	Perfective Form	Imperfective Form	SIL	SFL	Sub-Pattern		
Bi. Tri.	<i>C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub>V</i> <i>C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>VC<sub>3</sub></i>	<i>C<sub>1</sub>aC<sub>2</sub>i</i> <i>C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>eC<sub>3</sub></i>	a	i	/mali/ 'filled' /qley/ 'went upward'	(a) (b)	/yimli/ /yiqli/	Ø i	y <sub>i</sub> C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> i y <sub>i</sub> C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> i	y <sub>i</sub> C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> V	
Bi.	<i>C<sub>1</sub>VC<sub>2</sub></i>	<i>C<sub>1</sub>a:C<sub>2</sub></i>		a:	/qar/ 'protected'		/yitr/	i: i:	yC <sub>1</sub> i;C <sub>2</sub> yC <sub>1</sub> i;C <sub>2</sub>	yC <sub>1</sub> V;C <sub>2</sub>	

TABLE XVI  
Verb 2

Type of Stem	Perfective					Imperfective					General Pattern
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	SIL	SFL	Perfective Form	Form	SIL	SFL	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern	
Mon. Bi.	C <sub>1</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> i	i	/jɪ/ 'came'	/jɪey/	e	yC <sub>1</sub> ey	yC <sub>1</sub> ey			
	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub>	a	/jad/ 'happened'	/yed/	e	yC <sub>1</sub> eC <sub>2</sub>	yC <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub>			
	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> V	a	/fadi/ 'sacrificed'	/yifdey/	ø	yC <sub>1</sub> eC <sub>2</sub>	yC <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> ey			
	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> i	a	/rawa/ 'irrigated'	/yirwey/	ø	yC <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> ey	yC <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> ey			
	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> a	a;	/ga:sı/ 'suffered'	/yga:sey/	a:	yC <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> ey	yC <sub>1</sub> V: C <sub>2</sub> ey			
	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> i	a;	/ra:da/ 'appeared'	/yra:dey/	a:	yC <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> ey	yC <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> ey			
Tri.	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> a	a	/seamni/ 'named'	/ysamnney/	a	yC <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> ey	yC <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> ey			
	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	a	/ramma/ 'threw'	/yrammey/	a	yC <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> ey	yC <sub>1</sub> C <sub>3</sub> Y: C <sub>2</sub>			
	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	a	/gesam/ 'divided'	/yigsem/	ø	yC <sub>1</sub> C <sub>3</sub> Y: C <sub>2</sub>	yC <sub>1</sub> V: C <sub>2</sub> Y: C <sub>3</sub>			
	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	a:	/na:sas/ 'filled'	/yng:ses/	a:	yC <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>	yC <sub>1</sub> a:C <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>			
	C <sub>1</sub> o: C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	o:	/ho:sat/ 'surrounded'	/yho:ser/	o:	yC <sub>1</sub> o: C <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>	yC <sub>1</sub> V: C <sub>2</sub> Y: C <sub>3</sub>			
	C <sub>1</sub> o: C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	a:	/da:gar/ 'tried hard'	/ydi:ger/	a:	yC <sub>1</sub> a:C <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>	yC <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> eC <sub>2</sub>			
Quad	C <sub>1</sub> Y <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub>	a	/karkar/ 'laughed'	/ykarker/	a	yC <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> eC <sub>2</sub>	yC <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub>			
	C <sub>1</sub> Y <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>1</sub>	a	/sabbas/ 'prepared secretly'	/ysabbes/	a	yC <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>1</sub>	yC <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>1</sub>			
	C <sub>1</sub> Y <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>2</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	a	/zarrar/ 'buttoned'	/yzanner/	a	yC <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>2</sub>	yC <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> YC <sub>2</sub>			
	C <sub>1</sub> Y <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	a	/galgas/ 'robbed'	/ygalges/	a	yC <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>	yC <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>1</sub> YC <sub>3</sub>			
	C <sub>1</sub> Y <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>1</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> aC <sub>1</sub>	a	/sabras/ 'went quickly'	/ysabres/	a	yC <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> eC <sub>1</sub>	yC <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>1</sub>			
	C <sub>1</sub> Y <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	a	/sattaf/ 'arranged'	/ysattef/	a	yC <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>	yC <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>2</sub> YC <sub>3</sub>			
Quint	C <sub>1</sub> Y <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>3</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> aC <sub>3</sub>	a	/še:lal/ 'caught fire'	/ysa:lel/	a	yC <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> eC <sub>3</sub>	yC <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> YC <sub>3</sub>			
	C <sub>1</sub> Y <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>4</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> aC <sub>4</sub>	a	/ge:Smaz/ 'sat'	/yga:Smiez/	a	yC <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> eC <sub>4</sub>	yC <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> C <sub>3</sub> VC <sub>4</sub>			

TABLE XVII  
*Verb 3*

Type of Stem	Perfective						Imperfective Form	SIL	SFL	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	SIL	SFL	Perfective Form						
Bi.	C <sub>1</sub> YC <sub>2</sub> V	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> a	a	a	/jara/ 'happened'		/yijra/	Ø	a	yC <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> a	yC <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> V
Tri.	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aV <sub>C<sub>a</sub></sub>	C <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> eC <sub>a</sub>		e	/greb/ 'got nearer'		/yigrab/		a	yC <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>a</sub>	yC <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>a</sub>
	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>a</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>a</sub>	a	a	/gataq/ 'cut'		/yigtaq/	Ø	a	yC <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>a</sub>	

TABLE XVIII  
*Verb 4*

Type of Stem	Perfective						Imperfective Form	SIL	SFL	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	SIL	SFL	Perfective Form						
Bi.	C <sub>1</sub> Y:C <sub>a</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> a:C <sub>a</sub>	a:		/ta:r/ 'waked'		/yuy:r/		u:	yC <sub>1</sub> u:C <sub>a</sub>	yC <sub>1</sub> Y:C <sub>a</sub>

TABLE XIX  
*Verb 5*

Type of Stem	Perfective						Imperfective Form	SIL	SFL	Sub-Pattern	General Pattern
	General Pattern	Sub-Pattern	SIL	SFL	Perfective Form						
Bi.	C <sub>1</sub> YC <sub>a</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> a	a		/qad/ 'bit'		/yqad/		Ø	yC <sub>1</sub> oC <sub>a</sub>	yC <sub>1</sub> YC <sub>a</sub>
Tri.	C <sub>1</sub> VC <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>a</sub>	C <sub>1</sub> aC <sub>2</sub> aC <sub>a</sub>	a	a	/zabat/ 'arrested'		/yuzbat/	Ø	Ø	yC <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> oC <sub>a</sub>	yC <sub>1</sub> C <sub>2</sub> VC <sub>a</sub>

## 10. PRONOUNS

### 10.1.

Subject and non-subject pronouns are discussed in 9.3.3.1.2, 9.3.3.1.3, 9.3.3.1.4, 9.3.3.1.5 above.

### 10.2.

The following are the pronouns which occur as free forms and may occur as one-word sentences.

		<i>Person</i>	<i>Gender</i>	<i>Number</i>
3.m.s.	hú:	h-	-u:	-
3.f.s.	hí:	h-	-i:	-
2.m.s.	Pínti	Pint-	-i	-
2.f.s.	Píntey	Pint-	-ey	-
1 s.	Páni	Pani-	-Ø	-
3 pl.	húmma	h-	-	-umma
2 pl.	Píntow	Pint-	-	-ow
1 pl.	Píñni	Piñn-	-	-i

Final /-i/ alternates with /-a/, final /-ey/ with /-i/, final /-ow/ with /-u/ before or at the loss of /+/. Examples:

- /Pinta muxles/ 'you (m.s.) are sincere'  
/Pinti ša:tra/ 'you (f.s.) are smart'  
/Pintu suʃta:n/ 'you (pl.) are courageous'

## 11. PRONOMINALS

### 11.1.

General characteristic: filling the subject slot in verbal and non-verbal sentences.

### 11.2. DEMONSTRATIVES

(1) /da/ 'this' and /da:k/ 'that' occur freely before and after members of other form classes, in post- and pre-junctural positions. /da/ has the alternant /di/ before major juncture. /da:k/ occurs in close transition with pronominal free forms in the following shapes:

3.m.s.	da:k <sup>~</sup> hu:	dakka:
3.f.s.	hi:	dikki:
3 pl.	humma	dokkumma

Occurrence of /da:k/ in close transition with other pronominal free forms is rare in the idiolects described in this study.

(2) /Padi/ 'this' (seen object), and /Pawwi:n/ 'that' (seen object) when uninflected, occur before nouns. When inflected for allocation, /Padi/ and /Pawwi:n/ occur before nouns, pronominal free forms, nominal and prepositional phrases and constructs. Only when inflected, /Padi/ and /Pawwi:n/ occur as one-word sentences.

/Padi/ has the alternants /Pada-/ when in close transition with pronominal free forms and /Padi:-/ when inflected for allocation.

### 11.3. INTERROGATIVES

/ke:/	'how' or 'like' (shape)
/kad/	'as much as' or 'like' (size)
/ka:m/	'how many'
/Pe:/	'what'
/mi:n/	'who'
/me:ti/	'when'
/le:/	'why'
/we:n/	'where'

(1) Interrogatives occur:

- (a) prejuncturally,
- (b) initially in interrogative sentences,
- (c) as one-word sentences, with the exception of /Pinn-/ which occurs in close transition with the following pronominal free forms.

/Pinnhu:/ 'which one (m.s.)?'

/Pinnhi:/ 'which one (f.s.)?'

/Pinnhumma/ 'which ones (pl.)?'

(2) /we:n/ is inflected for allocation (e.g., /we:nu/ 'where is he?').

(3) /kad/ occurs initially in questions including /ka:m/, /?e:/ or /mi:n/. Examples:

/kad ka:m wad jow/ 'about how many boys came?'

/kad ge:t mi:n ge:tak/ 'like whose field is yours (m.s.)?'

(4) The following sequences of two interrogatives have been observed.

- (a) /ke: ?e:/ 'like what?'
- (b) /ke: mi:n/ 'like whom?'
- (c) /ka:m ?e:/ 'how many what?'
- (d) /we:n ?e:/ 'where what?'
- (e) /we:n mi:n/ 'where who?'

(5) /ke:/ functions as a linker in the environment noun + ke: + noun (e.g., /hsa:n ke: lbarg/ 'a horse like lightning (i.e., speedy)').

(6) /ke:/, /me:ti/, /le:/, /we:n/ function as adverbs when occurring in post verbal position: /ruht we:n/ 'where did you (m.s.) go?'

#### 11.4.

The relative /?illey/ 'who', 'which', 'that', 'whoever', 'whatever' (1) occurs in initial position in syntactic structures of which /?illey/ is immediate constituent; (2) does not occur with sentence pitch peak.

## 12. PARTICLES

Particles — as distinct from nouns and verbs — do not contain the immediate constituents: a consonantal root and a vocalic pattern.

Sub-classes of particles:

### 12.1. PREPOSITIONS

(1) Prepositions are inflected for allocation by the same set of pronominal suffixes which indicates allocation with the nouns.

(2) Prepositions, inflected or uninflected, may occur before (a) definite or indefinite nouns, (b) nominal phrases.

(3) Prepositions inflected for allocation occur before pronominal free forms and as one-word sentences.

(4) Prepositions may be divided into two sub-groups on the basis of distribution of uninflected prepositional forms.

#### 12.1.1. Sub-group 1

Members do not occur pre-juncturally, and normally do not occur with sentence pitch peak. They occur before nouns, nominal constructs and phrases, and interrogatives.

/bi-/	'with'
/fi-/	'in'
/Send/	'at'
/Sali/	'on'
/men/	'from'
/mfa/	'together with'
/li-/	'to'

(1) /men/ and /li-/ occur before prepositions of sub-group 2:

/min jamb/	'by (the) side'
/lafo:g/	'upwards'

but not before other members of sub-group 1.

(2) /-i-/ in /bi-/, /fi-/, /li-/ is dropped when in close transition with a sequence beginning with CV-, and alternates with /-i:/ when inflected for allocation. Examples:

/byade:/	'with his hands'
/fbe:tu/	'in his house'
/lwaladu/	'to his son'
/bi:hom/	'with them'
/fi:hom/	'in them'
/li:hom/	'to them'

(3) /li/ has the allomorph /la-/ when in close transition with a following member of sub-group 2:

/lawara/ 'backward'.

(4) /sali/ has the allomorph /sa-/ before the definite article /Pil-/:

/Salkursey/ 'on the chair'.

(5) /-i/ in /sali/ alternates with /-e:/ and /-n/ in /men/ is reduplicated when inflected for allocation:

/sale:hom/	'on them'
/minnak/	'from you (m.s.)'.

### 12.1.2. Sub-group 2

Members may occur pre-juncturally, with sentence pitch peak, and with the same privileges of occurrence as members of sub-group 1 (but not before them or before other members of sub-group 2), with the exception of /be:n/ which occurs before other members of sub-group 2.

/taht/	'under'
/be:n/	'between'
/gidda:m/	'in front of'
/fo:g/	'on', 'above'
/jamb/	'beside'
/wara/	'behind'

All members of sub-group 2 may function as nominals in declarative non-verbal sentences with the constituents: noun + phrase of comparison + noun. Example:

/gidda:m Pañsan min wara/  
'(to be) in front is better than (to be) behind'.

### 12.2. LIMITING PARTICLES

/kol/	'all', 'each'
/bañd/	'some'

/Pay/      'any'  
 /ħawale:n/ 'about'  
 /Silya:t/    'most'

(1) All limiting particles are inflected for allocation:

/kullkom/ 'all of you'  
 /baħħom/ 'some of them'

(2) /kol/, /baħħd/, /Silya:t/ are inflected for definiteness:

/lbaqħid ji/ 'some came'

(3) /Pay/ is inflected for allocation by plural pronominal suffixes:

/Payyhom/ 'any of them'  
 /Payykom/ 'any of you'  
 /Payyni/ 'any of us'

(4a) /kol/ occurs before definite and indefinite singular and plural nouns:

/kol ra:jel/ 'each man'  
 /kol Pirrija:li/ 'all (the) men'

(4b) /baħħd/ occurs before definite and indefinite singular and plural nouns:

/baħħd lħadi:d/ 'some iron'  
 /baħħd lkutob/ 'some (of) the books'  
 /baħħd kutob/ 'some books'  
 /baħħd tra:b/ 'some dust'.

(4c) /Pay/ occurs before indefinite singular and plural nouns:

/Pay kta:b/ 'any book'  
 /Pay mara:kəb/ 'any sailing boats'.

(4d) /ħawale:n/ occurs before definite and indefinite dual nouns as well as cardinal numerical adjectives, definite or indefinite:

/ħawale:n ratle:n/ 'about two pounds'  
 /ħawale:n xamasta:šer rætl/ 'about fifteen pounds'  
 /ħawale:n lxamasta:šer rætl/ 'about (the) fifteen pounds'.

(4e) /Silya:t/ occurs before definite singular and plural nouns:

/Silya:t lgamħ/ 'most of the wheat'  
 /Silya:t liħsinni/ 'most of the horses'

### 12.3. LINKERS

/bas/      'only'  
 /la ... wala/ 'neither ... nor'

/illi/	'except'
/ge:r/	'other than'
/laki:n/	'but'
/wi/	'and'
/walli/	'or'
/ya ... ya/	'either ... or'

- Linkers (1) do not occur before major juncture,<sup>1</sup> or with sentence pitch peak;  
 (2) link nouns, verbs, pronouns, phrases, clauses, sentences;  
 (3) are uninflected, with the exception of /ge:r/ (allocation).  
 (4) /wi/ has the allomorph /w-/ before sequences beginning with CV-.

#### 12.4. SUBORDINATING CONJUNCTIONS

/bañd/	'after'
/gabl/	'before'
/kullma:/	'whenever'
/Salaša:n/	'because'
/law/	'if'
/lammi/	'when'

- (1) Only /bañd/, /gabl/, and /law/, occur before /||/ and /#/.  
 (2) /bañd/, /gabl/ and /Salaša:n/ are inflected for allocation.  
 (3) All conjunctions may occur with sentence pitch peak.  
 (4) /bañd/ and /gabl/ may function as nominals in declarative non-verbal sentences with the constituents: noun + phrase of comparison + noun:

/gabl Pañsan min bañd/  
 '(to be) before (e.g., arrival of plane) is better than (to be) after it'.

#### 12.5. ADVERBS

/bard/	'also'
/barra/	'outside'
/brob/	'perhaps'
/dilwak/	'now'
/kama:n/	'moreover'
/kdi/	'thus'

<sup>1</sup> /bas/, however, may occur before major junctures:

<sup>2</sup> /píštará tálat kará:si bás #/  
<sup>3</sup> 'he bought three chairs only'

/gawey/	'very'
/sa:ley/	'always'
/juwwa/	'inside'
/xa:les/	'much'
/hni/	'here'
/hna:k/	'there'
/wə:sel/	'at all', 'altogether'

(1) All adverbs occur (a) pre-juncturally, (b) as one-word sentences, (c) modifying verbs and adjectives by position before or after the verb or the adjective.

(2) /bərd/ /bərrə/ and /juwwa/ are inflected for allocation in which case final /-a/ alternates with /-a:-/:

/bərrə:həm/ 'outside them'

(3) /bərrə/ and /juwwa/ may function as nominals in declarative non-verbal sentences with the constituents: noun + phrase of comparison + noun:

/bərrə Pazfat min juwwa/

'(to be) outside (e.g., a congested hall in warm weather) is worse than (to be) inside'

#### 12.6.

The emphatic particle /ma/ occurs in initial position of the sentence, normally in close transition with the following item.

#### 12.7.

The negative particle /miš/ has the variant /-šey/ which occurs suffixed to verbal forms. /miš/ does not occur before major junctures.

#### 12.8.

/Pa:/ 'yes' and /la:wəl/ 'no' occur initially in the sentence, before /l/ and may occur as one-word sentences.

#### 12.9.

/ya/, the vocative particle fills the predicate slot in a vocative sentence or the modifier slot in a vocative phrase. /ya/ does not co-occur with sentence pitch peak.



**PART III**

**SYNTAX**



## 13. saSi:di SYNTACTIC UNITS

### 13.1. THE SENTENCE

- (1) Consists of one word, phrase, clause or a sequence of these units occurring with a minimum of one intonation contour ending with either /||/ or /#/.
- (2) Occurs between silence and /||/ or /#/ or after one and before another of these two junctures with or without intervening single bar(s).

### 13.2. THE CLAUSE

- (1) Consists of one word, phrase or a sequence of these units occurring with one intonation contour ending with /|/, /||/ or /#/.
- (2) Occurs between silence and /|/ or after /|/ and before /|/, /||/ or /#/.
- (3) May be linked phonologically and/or lexically with clause(s) within the sentence.

### 13.3. THE PHRASE

- (1) Consists of two or more words, one of which is a head, the other(s) is modifier(s), in endocentric relationship, interrupted by /+/ with two or more primary stresses.
- (2) May fill the subject, object, predicate, or predicator slot in the sentence or the modifier or adverb slot in the phrase, clause or sentence.

### 13.4. THE WORD

- (1) Is a unit consisting minimally of CV, with one primary stress.
- (2) Occurs between silence and /+/, between two pluses, between /+/ and a major juncture, after /|/ and before /#/ , in which case the word constitutes a one-word clause.

### 13.5.

The clause, the phrase and the word may constitute a sentence by occurrence with a pitch contour ending with /||/ or /#/.

## 13.6. ABBREVIATIONS

aux	= auxiliary	op	= object pronoun
adj	= adjective	P	= predicate
adv	= adverb	PLN	= negative particle
adv P	= adverbial phrase	Pred	= predictor
DCl	= dependent clause	Prep	= preposition
PLE	= emphatic particle	Prep P	= prepositional phrase
H	= head	Sn1	= declarative non-verbal sentence
ICl	= independent clause	Sn1v	= verb-type transform of Sn1
int	= intensifier	Sn2	= vocative sentence.
M	= modifier	sp	= subject pronoun
n	= indefinite noun	Sv1	= declarative verbal sentence
NCt	= nominal construct	Sv2	= imperative sentence
ND	= definite noun	VCt	= verbal construct
NP	= nominal phrase	voc. pl.	= vocative particle
O	= object		

## 14. TYPES OF səfi:di PHRASES

### 14.1.

Classified on the basis of the types of phrase heads:

- (1) The adjectival phrase:

adj + int

- (2) The adverbial phrase:

adv + adv

adv + n ~ ND

adv + adj

- (3) The prepositional phrase:

prep + adv      } function as adverbials when  
prep + n + ND    } modifying an adjective or verb

- (4) The verbal phrase:

verb + adverb

verb (aux) + verb

- (5) The nominal phrase:

1 NP<sub>1</sub> → n + n      } in genitival relationship; the  
                        n + ND    } noun head is definite by position  
                        n + NCT }

2 NP<sub>2</sub> → n + adj  
                        ND + adj  
                        adj + ND  
                        NCT + adj  
                        adj + NCT  
                        NP<sub>1</sub> + adj  
                        (NP<sub>1</sub> → n + n)

3 NP<sub>3</sub> → n + NP<sub>2</sub>  
                        (NP<sub>2</sub> → NCT + adj)  
                        ND + NP<sub>2</sub>  
                        (NP<sub>2</sub> → NCT + adj)  
                        ND + ND} in appositive relationship

- (6) /Pilley/-phrase, in which the relative /Pilley/ fills the head slot.

## 14.2.

The following observations may be made on the types of phrases:

- (1) Nouns may be singular or plural.
- (2) Slot sequence in NP<sub>1</sub> and NP<sub>3</sub> is rigid.
- (3) The head slot is first in position with the exception in NP<sub>2</sub> of the slot sequence M + H where the less rigid slot sequence of NP<sub>2</sub> permits the head to occupy the second position.
- (4) The head in NP<sub>1</sub> is unexpandable, whereas the modifier is expandable by the addition of modifier(s) or /Pilley/-phrase.
- (5) The head in NP<sub>2</sub> is expandable by the addition of modifier(s) or /Pilley/-phrase; the modifier is expandable by intensifiers.
- (6) The head and the modifier in NP<sub>3</sub> are expandable by the addition of modifier(s) or /Pilley/-phrase. /Pilley/-phrase, however, does not occur in NP<sub>3</sub> after a head of the type n.
- (7) Slot sequence in /Pilley/-phrase is rigid; the modifier slot may be filled by:
  - (a) adjectives,
  - (b) verbs
  - (c) verb (Pred) + noun (O)
  - (d) verbal, adjectival, adverbial, prepositional and nominal (NP<sub>2</sub>) phrases.
- (8) The vocative phrase consists of a head (noun or NP<sub>1</sub>) and modifier (the vocative particle /ya/).

## 14.3.

Types of sa*q*i:di constructs (construct = stem + pronominal affix(es)):

- (1) Nominal construct (NCt): noun + non-subject pronoun (allocation) (e.g., /kta:bu/ 'his book').
- (2) Verbal construct (VCt):
  - (a) VCt1 verb stem + subject pronoun /kal<sup>at</sup>/ 'she ate'
  - (b) VCt2 verb stem + subject pronoun + non-subject pronoun (object) (e.g., /katab<sup>at</sup><sup>u</sup>/ 'she wrote it (m.)').
- (3) Prepositional construct: preposition + non-subject pronoun (allocation) (e.g., /li:<sup>kom</sup>/ 'to you (pl.)'). A prepositional construct may function as adverbial when it modifies an adjective or a verb. Examples:

/lmahiyya ze:na <sup>sal</sup>e:k/  
 'the salary is good for you (m.s.)'  
 /ga<sup>sa</sup>d <sup>s</sup>indhom/ 'he stayed with them'.

## 15. TYPES OF saSi:di CLAUSES

### 15.1.

*The independent clause:* phonologically linked — with or without a linking particle — with other clause(s) in the sentence (see 13.1 and 13.2 above).

### 15.2.

*The dependent clause:* lexically linked with other clause(s) in the sentence by a subordinating conjunction.

## 16. MAJOR SENTENCE TYPES IN *səfi:di*

The major sentence types in *səfi:di* are:

- (1) The non-verbal sentence
- (2) The verbal sentence.

Types of the non-verbal sentence:

- (1) The declarative non-verbal sentence
- (2) The vocative sentence.

### 16.1. THE DECLARATIVE NON-VERBAL SENTENCE (Sn1)

- (1) Spoken normally with a rising-falling or rising-returning intonation contour.
- (2) Has two slots: subject (S) + predicate (P).

#### 16.1.1. Subtypes of Sn1

On the basis of the types of fillers of the predicate slot.

- (1) Sn1a. With a noun or a nominal as the filler of the predicate slot. Examples:

(a) / <sup>2</sup> ná:zer <sup>3</sup> mídrasi <sup>1</sup> #/ 'headmaster'

n	n	
S	P	
<u>Sn1a</u>		

(b) / <sup>2</sup> ráyyes <sup>3</sup> lmírkab <sup>1</sup> #/ 'the skipper of the sailing boat'

n	ND	
S	P	
<u>Sn1a</u>		

(c) / <sup>2</sup> lgawá:leb <sup>3</sup> dokkúmma <sup>1</sup> #/ 'those bricks'

ND	demonstrative (pl.)	
S	P	
<u>Sn1a</u>		

- (d) / <sup>2</sup>?innésr málík <sup>3</sup>?itté:r <sup>1</sup>#/ 'the eagle is the king of birds'
- 
- ND      n      ND  
 ↑            NP<sub>1</sub>  
 S            P  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sn1a

- (e) / <sup>2</sup>liktá:b sadí:g <sup>3</sup>múxles <sup>1</sup>#/ 'the book is a sincere friend'
- 
- ND      n      adj  
 ↑            NP<sub>2</sub>  
 S            P  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sn1a

(2) Sn1b. With adjective or adjectival as the filler of the predicate slot. Examples:

- (a) / <sup>2</sup>bágara <sup>3</sup>bé:da <sup>1</sup>#/ 'a white cow'
- 
- n      adj  
 S      P  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sn1b

- (b) / <sup>2</sup>tillí:s lgálla <sup>3</sup>Pilli <sup>1</sup>?taré:tu #/ /Pilley/-phrase (adjectival)
- 
- n      ND      /Pilley/-phrase (adjectival)  
 NP<sub>1</sub>  
 ↓            ↓  
 S            P  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sn1b
- 'the sack of grain which I bought'

(3) Sn1c. With adverbial phrase as the filler of the predicate slot. Example:

- / <sup>2</sup>lwád sá:li <sup>3</sup>ná:jeħ <sup>1</sup>#/ 'the boy is always successful'
- 
- ND      adv      adj  
 ↓            adv P  
 S      P  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sn1c

(4) Sn1d. With prepositional phrase as the filler of the predicate slot. Example:

- / <sup>2</sup>ħáflet gábl lmígħreb <sup>3</sup>prep <sup>1</sup>#/ 'the ceremony before sunset'
- 
- n      prep      ND  
 ↓            prep P  
 S            P  
 \_\_\_\_\_  
 Sn1d

### 16.1.2. Fillers of the subject slot in Sn1

- (1) Nouns
- (2) Pronominal free forms
- (3) Pronominals
- (4) NP<sub>1</sub>, NP<sub>3</sub>
- (5) an /Pilley/-phrase
- (6) Nominal and prepositional constructs

### 16.1.3. Reversibility of slots in Sn1

Sn1b of the type S(ND)+P(adj) and Sn1d of the type S(ND)+P(prep P) can be spoken with the order of S + P reversed. The decision of assigning the constituents in this case is based on the following observations:

- (1) Sentence pitch peak in Sn1 falls on the filler of the predicate slot or one of its constituents.
- (2) When the order of slots is reversed, the sentence pitch peak moves back with the predicate slot. Examples:

/ <sup>2</sup>Ibágara <sup>3</sup>bé:dá <sup>1</sup>#/ ‘the cow is white’  
 S            P

/ <sup>2</sup><sup>3</sup>bé:dá <sup>1</sup>Ibágara #/ ‘white is the cow’  
 P            S

### 16.1.4. Slot expansions in Sn1

- 16.1.4.1. The following example is a minimal manifestation of Sn1.

/ <sup>2</sup>Piddýá:r <sup>3</sup>maskú:ni <sup>1</sup>#/ ‘the houses are occupied’

The subject may be expanded to

B<sub>2</sub>      B<sub>1</sub>      A<sub>1</sub>      A<sub>2</sub>      A<sub>3</sub>      A<sub>4</sub>      A<sub>5</sub>  
 /bá:íd Pittú:b Iwá:tya gáwi dokkúmma | Pílli giddá:mak/  
 ‘some of these six low brick houses in front of you (m.s.)’

- 16.1.4.2. The following observations may be made on the head-modifier positional relationship in the subject slot (pre-head positions are marked B, post-head positions are marked A):

(1) Position B<sub>1</sub> is occupied by cardinals, with the exception of /wa:hed/ ‘one’, which occupies position A<sub>1</sub>. Cardinals from 2-10 may occupy position A<sub>1</sub> (in which case they agree with the noun head in definiteness). — Ordinals up to the ‘tenth’ occupy position B<sub>1</sub> or A<sub>1</sub>.

(2) Position B<sub>2</sub> is occupied by limiting modifiers.

(3) Positions A<sub>1</sub> and A<sub>2</sub> are occupied (without rigidity of order) by (a) nominal

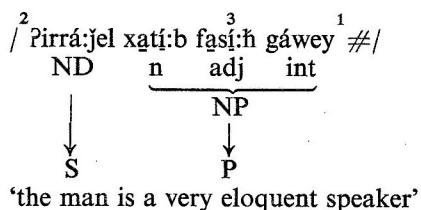
modifiers (b) adjectives other than numerals. — Nominal modifiers do not show agreement with the noun head.

- (4) Position A<sub>3</sub> is occupied by intensifiers.
  - (5) Position A<sub>4</sub> is occupied by demonstratives which agree with the noun head in gender and number.
  - (6) Position A<sub>5</sub> is occupied by modifying phrases, an /Pilley/-phrase or a prepositional phrase.

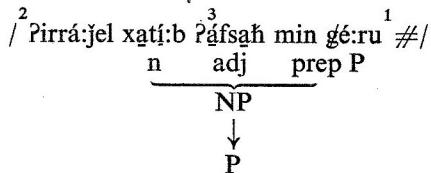
16.1.4.2.1. The subject slot in Sn1 may be expanded by linking more than one nominal with /wi/, /ya ... ya/, /la ... wala/, /laki:n/.

#### 16.1.4.3. Expansion of the predicate slot in Sn1.

- (1) If the predicate slot is filled by an indefinite noun it may be expanded by  
 (a) adj + intensifier. Example:

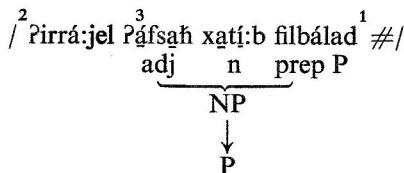


- (b) Comparative adjective or a phrase of comparison. Example:



'the man is a more eloquent speaker than others'

- (c) Adjective in the superlative degree, in which case the adjective and the noun head reverse positions. The noun head may or may not be followed by a prepositional phrase. Example:



'the man is the most eloquent speaker in the town'

- (2) The predicate slot may be expanded by the usage of the linkers: /wa/, /ya ... ya/, /la ... wala/, /laki:n/.

### 16.1.5. The expression of time in *Sn1*

- (1) Present time is expressed by Sn1.

(2) Past time is expressed in Sn1 by /ka:n/ 'was' occurring in pre-predicative position. Sn1 is the kernel of its verb-type transform. This verbalizing transformation may be represented by the formula:

$$\begin{aligned} \text{Sn1} + /ka:n/ &\rightarrow \text{Sn1v} \\ \text{Sn1v} &\rightarrow S + ka:n + P \end{aligned}$$

Examples:

Sn1 /<sup>2</sup>Pamwa:lu <sup>3</sup>katí:ri <sup>1</sup>#/  
'his wealth is great'

/<sup>2</sup>Pamwá:lu <sup>3</sup>ká:nat <sup>1</sup>katí:ri #/  
'his wealth was great'

(3) Few instances of Sn1 have no /ka:n/-transform. Example:

/<sup>2</sup>lSá:gba <sup>3</sup>síndkom <sup>1</sup>#/  
'a greeting on happy occasions'

#### 16.2. THE VOCATIVE SENTENCE (Sn2: P + S)

(1) Sn2 has a predicate slot filled by the vocative particle /ya/, and a subject slot which may be filled by: (a) a noun, (b) NP<sub>1</sub> (c) an /Pilley/-phrase.

(2) Sn2 normally occurs with a rising-returning intonation contour. Example:

/ <sup>2</sup>yá <sup>3</sup>sá:mey <sup>2</sup>#/ 'Samey!' (male name)  
voc. pl. ND  
P      S  
            
Sn2

(3) The vocative particle occurs

(a) initially in Sn2;

(b) after the verb in an imperative sentence (e.g., / <sup>2</sup>gú:l <sup>3</sup>yá <sup>2</sup>wád <sup>2</sup>#/ '(go on) speaking, boy!') in which case the vocative sentence is phonologically downgraded;

(c) in the modifier slot in a vocative phrase which fills the object slot in an imperative sentence (e.g., / <sup>2</sup>gú:l <sup>3</sup>yá <sup>2</sup>wád <sup>2</sup>#/ 'call (2.m.s.) the boy');

(d) after the verb in a declarative verbal sentence in which the vocative phrase fills the object slot (e.g., / <sup>2</sup>gúlt <sup>3</sup>yá <sup>2</sup>wád <sup>2</sup>#/ 'I called the boy');

(e) after the verb in an interrogative verbal sentence (e.g., / <sup>2</sup>kált | <sup>3</sup>yá <sup>2</sup>wád <sup>2</sup>#/ 'did you eat?', addressing a boy).

16.2.1. *Expansion of the subject slot in Sn2*

- (a) by an /Pilley/-phrase, (b) by NP<sub>1</sub>.

## 16.3. THE VERBAL SENTENCE

16.3.1. *Subtypes*

- (a) the declarative verbal sentence, (b) the imperative sentence.

16.3.2. *The declarative verbal sentence (Sv1)*

(1) Has two obligatory slots: (S)ubject and (Pred)icator and one optional slot: (O)bject.

- (2) Is normally spoken with a rising-falling intonation pattern.  
 (3) The following is a minimal manifestation of Sv1

/ <sup>2</sup><sub>kálow</sub> <sup>3</sup><sub>#</sub> / 'they ate'

which consists of a verb in the perfective aspect inflected for subject reference.

## 16.3.2.1. Slot fillers in Sv1.

(1) *The subject slot:*

- (a) nouns
- (b) pronominal free forms
- (c) subject pronouns
- (d) pronominals
- (e) NP<sub>1</sub>, NP<sub>2</sub>, and NP<sub>3</sub>
- (f) /Pilley/-phrase
- (g) nominal and prepositional constructs.

(2) *The object slot:*

- (a) direct object (object 1): 1. nouns, 2. object pronouns, 3. pronominals, 4. NP<sub>1</sub>, NP<sub>2</sub>, NP<sub>3</sub>, 5. /Pilley/-phrase, 6. vocative phrases.
- (b) indirect object (object 2)<sup>1</sup>: 1. nouns, 2. NP<sub>1</sub>, NP<sub>2</sub>, 3. NCt.

(3) *The predicate slot*

- (a) Verbal constructs
- (b) Verbal phrases

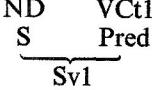
## 16.3.2.2. Order of slots in Sv1

- (1) Normally: S + Pred + O  
 (2) S and Pred may reverse positions. Example:

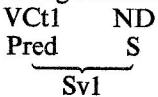
<sup>1</sup> A declarative verbal sentence may include a predicator which takes two objects e.g.,

/ <sup>2</sup><sub>lwád</sub> <sup>3</sup><sub>qátə</sub> <sup>1</sup><sub>paxú: jawa:b</sub> # /  
 'the boy gave his brother a letter'.

/ <sup>2</sup> limzá:re<sup>3</sup> láwwag <sup>1</sup> #/ 'the farmer sowed the seeds'

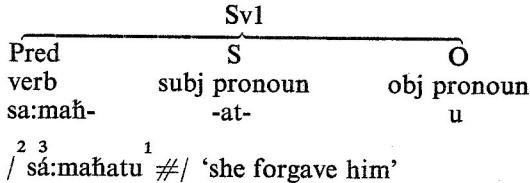


/ <sup>2 3</sup> láwwag limzá:re<sup>1</sup> #/



The assignment of the constituents in this case is based on:

- (a) the position of the sentence pitch peak when the order is reversed is on the predicator; when the order is normal it may or may not fall on the predicator;
- (b) the types of slot fillers.
- (3) The object occurs in post-predicator position whether the predicator is post-subjectival or initial.
- (4) In one case slot order in Sv1 is unchangeable: when Sv1 is one word, (VCt2), the constituents of which are:



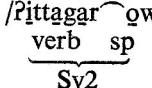
#### 16.3.2.3. Expansion of slots in Sv1

- (1) The subject slot: expandable as in Sn1
- (2) The predicator: expandable by usage of any of the auxiliaries
  - (a) /ka:n/ 'was'
  - (b) /yimken/ 'may'
  - (c) an adverb or adverbial phrase
  - (d) /ra:yeh/ 'going to'
- (3) The object: expandable only if a noun, as with the subject.

#### 16.4. THE IMPERATIVE SENTENCE: (Sv2)

- 16.4.1. (1) The following example is a minimal manifestation of the imperative sentence:

/ <sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup> pittággarow <sup>1</sup> #/ 'leave (pl.) now!'



- (2) Sv2 has two obligatory slots:

Pred + S +  
one optional:  
O.

- (3) Sv2 is normally spoken with a rising-falling intonation pattern.

#### 16.4.2. *Slot fillers in Sv2*

- (1) The predicator slot: verbs inflected for the imperative mood.
- (2) The subject slot: subject pronouns (2.m.s., 2.f.s., 2 pl.).
- (3) The object slot: (a) object pronouns, (b) pronominals (demonstrative), (c) nouns, (d) NP<sub>1</sub>, NP<sub>2</sub> or NP<sub>3</sub>, (e) an /Pilley/-phrase.

#### 16.4.3. *Slot expansion in Sv2*

- (1) The predicator may be expanded by
  - (a) an adverb

/ <sup>2 3</sup>Píjri <sup>1</sup>gawá:m #/  
pred adv

in which case the subject slot is unexpandable.

- (b) a prepositional phrase

/ <sup>2</sup>dál<sup>3</sup>del min <sup>3</sup>fó:g #/  
pred prep <sup>1</sup>adv  
prep P

- (2) The object is expandable

- (a) if a pronominal, by /Pilley/-phrase

/ <sup>2</sup>ší:l dakká: <sup>3</sup>Pílli fissandú:g #/  
pred demon- /Pilley/-phrase  
strative  
\_\_\_\_\_ O

- (b) if a noun, as in the subject slot in Sn1.

## 17. NEGATION

### 17.1. THE DECLARATIVE NON-VERBAL SENTENCE

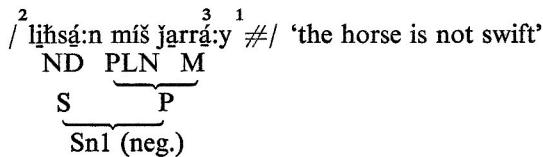
There are two negative particles in səfi:di:

- (1) a. /miš/ 'not'  
b. /ma/ (emphatic particle) ... /-sey/ suffix allomorph of /miš/
- (2) /la ... wala/ 'neither ... nor'.

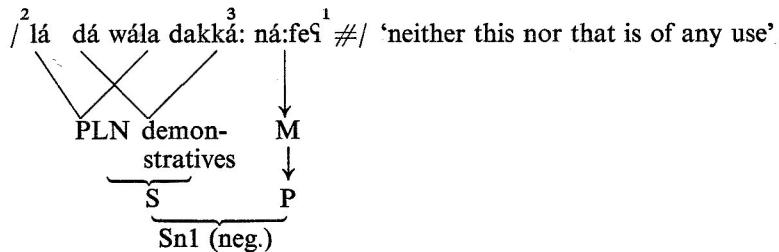
### 17.2. DISTRIBUTION OF THE NEGATIVE PARTICLE

In Sn1:

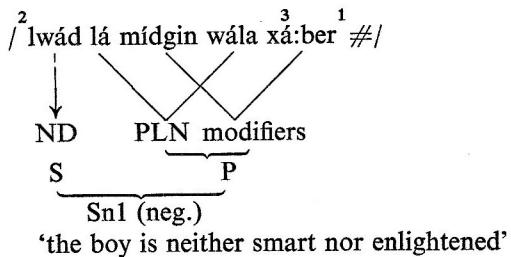
- (a) /miš/ occurs in pre-predicative position without any restriction as to the type of predicate:



- (b) /la ... wala/ occurs with
  1. a multiple subject

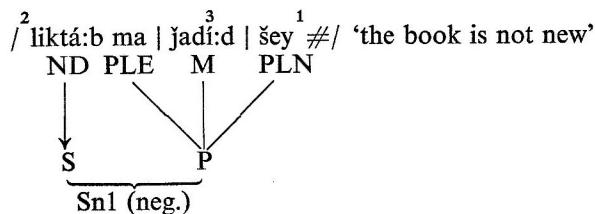


2. a multiple predicate

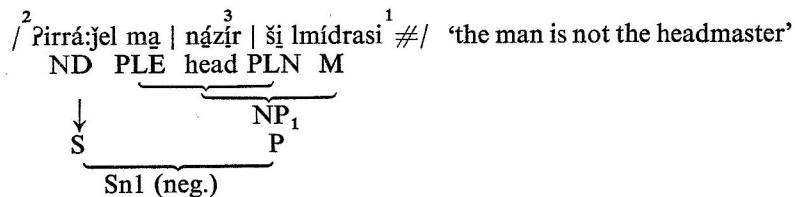


(c) /-šey/, the allomorph of /miš/, occurs as a suffix with all form classes. /ma/, the emphatic particle, may precede an item which is suffixed by /-šey/, according to the following patterns:

1. if the predicate is one word it occurs between /ma/ and /-šey/:



2. if the predicate is an NP, the head occurs between /ma/ and /-šey/:



- (d) The adverb /wá:sel/ 'at all' occurs only in negative predicates in post-adjectival position. /wá:sel/ presupposes /miš/ or /ma/ and /-šey/:

$\begin{array}{c} ^2 \text{?i}šaggá:l \text{ maradí:ší} \text{ wá:sel}^1 \# / \\ \text{the worker does not accept (the offer) at all'} \end{array}$

- (e) /ka:n/ occurs with /-šey/ preceded or unpreceded by /ma/.

### 17.3. NEGATION IN Sv1 AND Sv2

- (1) /-šey/ preceded or unpreceded by /ma/ occurs with the predicator:

$\begin{array}{c} \text{Sv1} \quad ^2 \text{l}kálb \text{ m}\acute{a}hassálší \text{ l}kádma^1 \# / \\ / \text{l}kálb \text{ h}assálší \text{ l}kádma^1 \# / \end{array}$

'the dog did not reach the bone'

- Sv2 /<sup>2</sup> matakílši dhá:n<sup>1</sup> #/  
 /<sub>2</sub><sup>3</sup> takílši dhá:n<sup>1</sup> #/  
 'do not (2.m.s.) eat fat!'

(2) /la ... wala/ occurs with multiple predators:

- Sv1 /<sup>2</sup> Pittilmí:z lá kátab | wála gára nhárdi<sup>1</sup> #/  
 'the student neither wrote nor read today'  
 Sv2 /<sup>2</sup> lá titláddat | wála tháyyes<sup>1</sup> #/  
 'do not (2.m.s.) talk or make noise!'

(3) In Sv1 with multiple subject /la ... wala/ occurs with the subject:

- /<sup>2</sup> lá <sup>3</sup>dí:b | wála sselí:k hní<sup>1</sup> #/  
 'there is neither a wolf nor a fox here'

(4) In Sv1 and Sv2 with multiple object /la/ occurs in pre-predicator position and /wala/ occurs before each constituent noun or phrase of the object:

- Sv1 /<sup>2</sup> lwád lá šrèb wála lában | wála dáwa<sup>1</sup> #/  
 'the boy drank neither milk nor medicine'  
 Sv2 /<sup>2</sup> lá twássex wála kútba:tak | wála xalagá:tak<sup>1</sup> #/  
 'make (2.m.s.) neither your books nor your clothes dirty!'

(5) With one word Sv1 and Sv2 /-sey/ and the combination /ma/ and /sey/ occur in free variation:

- Sv1 /<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup>fhimšey<sup>1</sup> #/    'he did not understand'  
 /<sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup>mafhimšey<sup>1</sup> #/  
 Sv2 /<sup>2</sup> tilšábšey<sup>1</sup> #/    'do not (2.m.s.) play!'  
 /<sup>2</sup> matilšábšey<sup>1</sup> #/

## 18. INTERROGATION

### 18.1.

Interrogation in *səSi:di* is signalled by

- (1) Suprasegmental changes
- (2) Segmental signals
- (3) Suprasegmental changes and segmental signals
- (4) Suprasegmental changes and changes in slot position.

### 18.2.

*Sn1, 2* and *Sv1, 2* are made interrogative by:

- (1) Change in intonation pattern. In *Sn1, 2* and *Sv1, 2* from rising-falling or rising-returning to rising:

*Sn1*  $\begin{cases} / \overset{2}{\text{l}} \overset{3}{\text{halazó:na}} \overset{1}{\text{mittáxxri}} \# / & \text{'the bus is late'} \\ / \overset{2}{\text{l}} \overset{3}{\text{halazó:na}} \overset{3}{\text{mittáxxri}} \# / & \text{'is the bus late?'} \end{cases}$

*Sn1*  $\begin{cases} / \overset{2}{\text{bá:rdi}} \overset{3}{\#} / & \text{'cold (f.s.)'} \\ / \overset{2}{\text{bá:rdi}} \overset{3}{\#} / & \text{'is it (f.) cold?' } \end{cases}$

*Sv1*  $\begin{cases} / \overset{2}{\text{lgúton}} \overset{3}{\text{náwwar}} \overset{1}{\#} / & \text{'the cotton blossomed'} \\ / \overset{2}{\text{lgúton}} \overset{3}{\text{náwwar}} \overset{3}{\#} / & \text{'did the cotton blossom?' } \end{cases}$

*Sv1*  $\begin{cases} / \overset{2}{\text{hayízmag}} \overset{3}{\#} / & \text{'he will be angry'} \\ / \overset{2}{\text{hayízmag}} \overset{3}{\#} / & \text{'will he be angry?' } \end{cases}$

*Sn2*  $\begin{cases} / \overset{2}{\text{yá}} \overset{3}{\text{daššá:}} \overset{2}{\#} / & \text{'you (m.s.) greedy fellow!'} \\ / \overset{2}{\text{yá}} \overset{3}{\text{daššá:}} \overset{3}{\#} / & \text{'(are you) calling me greedy?' (reiterated question)} \end{cases}$

Sv2	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \overset{2}{\text{Pírmi}} \overset{3}{\text{ktá:bak}} \overset{1}{\#} / \text{ 'throw (2.m.s.) away your book!'} \\ / \overset{2}{\text{Pírmi}} \overset{3}{\text{ktá:bak}} \overset{3}{\ } / \text{ '(are you telling me to) throw away my book?'} \end{array} \right.$
-----	--

(2) Sn1 and Sv1 may be made interrogative by the usage of any of the interrogatives, in which case the change in the intonation to the rising pattern may or may not occur. If it occurs, it signals a reiterated question:

Sn1	$/ \overset{2}{\text{wé:n}} \overset{3}{\text{ráyyes}} \overset{1}{\#} / \text{ 'where is your (m.s.) boss?}'$
Sv1	$/ \overset{2}{\text{wé:n}} \overset{3}{\text{gášmaz}} \overset{1}{\#} / \text{ 'where did the child sit?}'$

The interrogative may occur in initial position in Sn1 and Sv1, in final position in Sn1, in pre- or post-predicator position or in final position in Sv1.

(3) Sn1 and Sv1 may be interrogative by change in intonation pattern and in slot order:

Sn1	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \overset{2}{\text{lišlá:wa}} \overset{3}{\text{malyá:ni}} \overset{1}{\#} / \text{ 'the jar is full'} \\ \quad \quad \quad \text{S} \quad \text{P} \\ / \overset{2}{\text{malyá:na}} \overset{3}{\text{lišlá:wa}} \overset{3}{\ } / \text{ 'is the jar full?'} \\ \quad \quad \quad \text{P} \quad \text{S} \end{array} \right.$
Sv1	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \overset{2}{\text{lkálb}} \overset{3}{\text{hábašu}} \overset{1}{\#} / \text{ 'the dog bit him'} \\ \quad \quad \quad \text{S} \quad \text{Pred} \\ / \overset{2}{\text{hábašu}} \overset{3}{\text{lkálb}} \overset{3}{\ } / \text{ 'did the dog bite him?' } \\ \quad \quad \quad \text{Pred} \quad \text{S} \end{array} \right.$
Sn1	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \overset{2}{\text{lhá:res}} \overset{3}{\text{sahrá:n}} \overset{1}{\#} / \text{ 'the watchman is wakeful all night'} \\ \quad \quad \quad \text{S} \quad \quad \quad \text{P} \\ / \overset{2}{\text{sahrá:n}} \overset{3}{\text{tú:l}} \overset{3}{\text{pillé:l}} \overset{3}{\ } / \text{ 'is the watchman wakeful all night?'} \\ \quad \quad \quad \text{P} \quad \quad \quad \text{S} \end{array} \right.$
Sv1	$\left\{ \begin{array}{l} / \overset{2}{\text{lfarrá:š}} \overset{3}{\text{táffáh}} \overset{1}{\#} / \text{ 'the servant filled the glass with tea'} \\ \quad \quad \quad \text{S} \quad \quad \quad \text{Pred} \quad \text{O}_1 \quad \text{O}_2 \quad \quad \quad \text{tea} \\ / \overset{2}{\text{táffáh}} \overset{3}{\text{lkú:ba}} \overset{3}{\text{šá:y}} \overset{3}{\#} / \text{ 'did the servant fill the glass with tea?'} \\ \quad \quad \quad \text{Pred} \quad \text{O}_1 \quad \text{O}_2 \quad \quad \quad \text{S} \end{array} \right.$

## 19. SAMPLE saSi:di TEXT

To illustrate the application of the saSi:di syntactic system outlined in this study, the following sentences are analyzed in terms of the categories I defined. The text is a short folk tale which consists of ten sentences.

In every sentence, the major constituent elements (constructs, phrases, clauses) are marked off by the symbols used in the discussion of saSi:di syntax. When the same sentence contains two or more elements of the same type, the symbols referring to them are distinguished by numerals in parentheses.

The sentence type is mentioned at the end of the translation of each sentence. Literal translation is bracketed. A plus sign is used to separate the immediate constituents of a construction. A colon is to be read as "consisting of".

### THE GREEDY WOMAN

1. /<sup>2</sup>sálli <sup>3</sup>qannábi <sup>1</sup>lhá:dey #/  
‘Glorify (2.m.s.) [pray on] the guiding prophet!’

Imperative sentence: verbal construct 1 + prepositional phrase, with /2 3 1 #/ intonation contour.

- VCt1: verb + subject pronoun  
*verb*: /sálli/ ‘pray’ + subject pronoun /Ø/ (2.m.s.).
- prep P: preposition + nominal phrase 3  
*preposition*: /qala/ ‘on’ (allomorph /qa-/ before /Pil-/)  
*nominal phrase 3*: definite noun /Pinnabi/ + nominal modifier (in appositive relationship) /lhá:dey/ ‘the guiding’.

2. /<sup>2</sup>ká:n fí: wíhda <sup>3</sup>máraq | <sup>2</sup>2 minílli <sup>3</sup>yhíbbu <sup>1</sup>lmá:l #/  
ICl prep P  
‘There was a woman [one woman] who loved money’

Verbal transform of the declarative non-verbal sentence: independent clause + prepositional phrase with /232 | 231 #/ intonation contours.

- ICl: verb + prepositional construct + nominal phrase 2  
*verb*: /ka:n/ 'was'  
*prepositional construct*: preposition /fi-/ 'in' + non-subject pronoun (allocation) /Ø/ (3.m.s.)  
*nominal phrase 2*: modifier: cardinal numerical adjective /wínda/ 'one' (f.s.) + noun head: definite noun (by position) /mara/ 'woman'.  
 prep P: preposition + /Pilley/-phrase.  
*preposition*: /min/ 'from'  
*/Pilley/-phrase*: /Pilley/ + predictor + object  
*relative /Pilley/*: 'who' (pl.)  
*predictor*: verbal construct 1  
 subject pronoun + verb /y<sup>~</sup>hibb<sup>~</sup>u/ 'they love'  
*object*: definite noun /lma:l/ '(the) money'

3. / <sup>2</sup>tíṃlek <sup>3</sup>nīttá:l <sup>3</sup>sámen kabí:r <sup>1</sup>#/  
 'She owned [owns] a big jar of cooking fat'

- Declarative verbal sentence, with /231 #/ intonation contour.  
*predictor*: verbal construct 1 /ti<sup>~</sup>mle/ 'she owns'  
*object*: nominal phrase 2:  
 head: nominal phrase 1 /nīttá:l/ 'jar' + /samen/ 'cooking fat' (in genitival relationship)  
 modifier: /kabi:r/ 'big'.

4. / <sup>2</sup>?innittá:l <sup>3</sup>m<sup>3</sup>állag q<sup>1</sup>alhé:t <sup>1</sup>#/  
 'The jar (being) hung on the wall'

- Declarative non-verbal sentence with /231 #/ intonation contour.  
*subject*: definite noun /?innitta:1/ 'the jar'  
*predicate*: adjectival phrase:  
 adjective + adverbial phrase  
 adjective: /m<sup>3</sup>allag/ 'hung (m.s.)'  
*adverbial phrase*: preposition + noun  
 preposition /q<sup>1</sup>a-/ 'on'  
 noun: definite noun /lhé:t/ 'the wall'

5. / <sup>2</sup>gá:lat <sup>3</sup>lnáfs<sup>2</sup>hi | <sup>2</sup>yá <sup>3</sup>bét <sup>1</sup>#/  
 ICl (1) ICl (2)  
 'She said to herself, "O girl!"'

Vocative sentence: two independent clauses, phonologically linked, with /232 | 231 #/ intonation contours.

ICl (1): predicate + adverbial phrase

*predicate:* verbal construct 1: /ga:l̩at/ 'she said'

*adverbial phrase:*

*preposition:* /l-/ 'to'

*noun:* /nafshi/ 'herself'

ICl (2): vocative clause: predicate /ya/ vocative particle + subject: noun /bet/ 'girl'.

6. /<sup>2</sup>nbí:<sup>3</sup> samná:<sup>2</sup>tey | <sup>3</sup>wništari <sup>2</sup>bágara <sup>3</sup>jaftá:<sup>1</sup>ni #/  
 ICl (1) ICl (2)  
 'I sell my cooking fat and buy a lean cow'

A declarative verbal sentence: two independent clauses phonologically and lexically linked, with /232 | 231 #/ intonation contours.

ICl (1): predicate + object

*predicate:* verbal construct 1

verbal construct 1 /nbí:<sup>3</sup>/ 'I sell' /n-/ l.s. (subject pronoun)  
 + /bi:<sup>3</sup>/

*object:* nominal construct

*noun:* /samna:t/ 'cooking fat' (pl.) + /-ey/ (l.s.) non-subject pronoun  
 (allocation).

ICl (2): linker + predictor + object

*linker:* /w-/ 'and'

*predicate:* verbal construct 1

verbal construct 1 /ništari/ 'I buy' /ni-/ l.s. (subject pronoun) +  
 /-štari/

*object:* nominal phrase 2

nominal phrase 2: noun + modifier

*noun:* /bagara/ 'cow'

*modifier:* /jaftá:ni/ 'lean (f.s.)'

7. /<sup>2</sup>nsammínhi | <sup>3</sup>winbí:<sup>3</sup>shi | <sup>2</sup>winjáwwez <sup>2</sup>wáladi bét <sup>3</sup>lísúmdi <sup>1</sup>#/  
 ICl (1) ICl (2) ICl (3)  
 'I fatten it, sell it and make my son marry the Omda's [i.e., the  
 Mayor's] daughter'

Declarative verbal sentence: three independent clauses phonologically and lexically linked, with /232 | 232 | 231 #/ intonation contours.

ICl (1): verbal construct 2

*verbal construct 2:* subject pronoun + verb + object pronoun

/n̩sammin̩hi/ 'I fatten it (f.)'

ICl (2): linker + verbal construct 2

*linker:* /wi-/ 'and'

*verbal construct 2:* /n̩bi:<sup>3</sup>hi/ [I sell it]

- ICl (3): linker + verbal construct 1 + object 1 + object 2  
*linker* /wi-/ 'and'  
*verbal construct 1* /n<sup>1</sup>jawwez/ 'I cause to marry'  
*object 1*: indefinite noun /waladi/ 'my son'  
*object 2*: nominal phrase 1: indefinite noun /bet/ 'daughter' + definite noun /l<sup>1</sup>umdi/ 'the mayor'.

8. / <sup>2</sup>l<sup>1</sup>aw gállat <sup>3</sup>hayá:hi | <sup>2</sup><sup>2</sup> n<sup>3</sup>udrúbh<sup>1</sup>a bil<sup>1</sup>qasá:yi <sup>1</sup>#/  
 ICl ICI  
 'If she is impolite [lessened her shyness], I beat her with the stick'

Declarative verbal sentence: one dependent clause + one independent clause, with /232 | 231 #/ intonation contours.

- DCl: subordinating conjunction + predicator + object  
*subordinating conjunction*: /law/ 'if'  
*predicator*: verbal construct 1  
 /gall<sup>1</sup>at/ 'she lessened'  
*object*: nominal construct: noun /hayá:-/ + non-subject pronoun (allocation) /-hi/ (3.f.s.).
- ICl: verbal construct 2 + adverbial phrase  
*verbal construct 2*: /nu<sup>1</sup>drúb<sup>2</sup>ha/ 'I beat her'  
*adverbial phrase*: preposition + definite noun  
*preposition*: /bi-/ 'with'  
*definite noun*: /l<sup>1</sup>asa:y<sup>1</sup>i/ 'the stick'

9. / <sup>2</sup><sup>3</sup>šáwwáhat l<sup>1</sup>asa:y<sup>1</sup>i | <sup>2</sup><sup>2</sup> <sup>3</sup>kásarat pínnittá:l <sup>1</sup>#/  
 ICl (1) ICI (2)  
 'she waved the stick and broke the jar.'

Declarative verbal sentence: two independent clauses, phonologically linked, with /232 / 231 #/ intonation contours.

- ICl (1) predicator + object  
*predicator*: verbal construct 1 /sawwa:h<sup>1</sup>at/ 'she waved'  
*object*: definite noun /l<sup>1</sup>asa:y<sup>1</sup>i/ 'the stick'
- ICl (2) predicator + object  
*predicator*: verbal construct 1 /kásar<sup>1</sup>at/ 'she broke'  
*object*: definite noun /pínnittá:l/ 'the jar'

10. / <sup>2</sup>ma<sup>1</sup>hassalátsí <sup>3</sup>há:jí <sup>1</sup>#/  
 'She gained nothing'

Negative declarative verbal sentence, with /231 #/ intonation contour. Emphatic particle + negative particle + predicator + object.

*emphatic particle*: /ma/

*negative particle*: /-šey/

*predicator*: verbal construct 1

/ħassal<sup>at</sup>/ ‘she gained’

*object*: indefinite noun /ħa:jɪ/ ‘thing’



## APPENDIX TO PHONOTACTICS

*Notes:*

- 1) The object of the following listing is to illustrate the attested consonant clusters in *səs̪i:di*.
- 2) Nouns and adjectives in the tables, unless otherwise indicated, are masculine (m.), singular (s).
- 3) *Səs̪i:di* verbs, whether in the perfective or the imperfective, the active or the passive forms, have 3.m.s. subject pronouns.

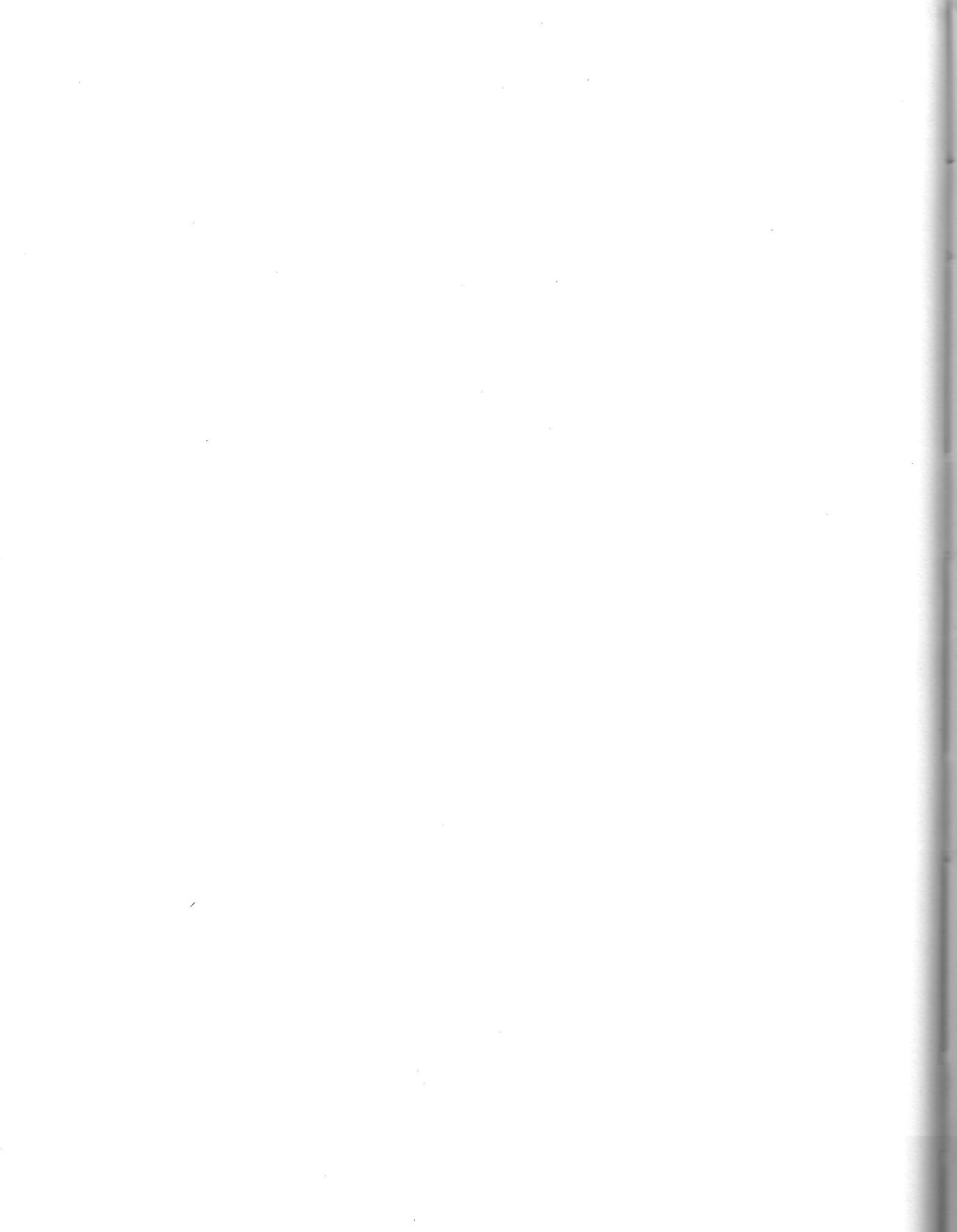


TABLE XX

*Initial Consonant Clusters: C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-*

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/tk/	/tkatab/	'was written'	/fn/	/fnɑ:r/	'in a dilemma'
/t?/	/t?assər/	'felt sympathy'	/fr/	/freg/	'finished'
/tf/	/tfərrat/	'went for a walk'	/fw/	/fwiššu/	'in his face'
/ts/	/tsallam/	'received'	/fy/	/fyaddu/	'in his hand (f.)'
/tš/	/tšatam/	'was insulted'	/st/	/stannow/	'wait (pl.)!'
/tx/	/txallaf/	'stayed behind'	/sf/	/sfu:f/	'lines'
/th/	/tħes/	'you (m.s.) feel'	/sx/	/sxu:r/	'rocks'
/tb/	/tbammal/	'was left'	/sh/	/shu:n/	'plates'
/tg/	/tbassar/	'contemplated'	/sh/	/sher/	'kept awake'
/tn/	/tgħabas/	'was picked'	/sb/	/sbeħ/	'got up (in the morning)'
/tz/	/tzəbbat/	'got dirty'			
/tj/	/tjalad/	'was lashed'	/sd/	/sda:š/	'headache'
/tg/	/tgħali/	'was boiled'	/sg/	/sgu:r/	'hawks'
/tš/	/tħallag/	'was hung'	/sj/	/sjun/	'prisons'
/tm/	/tma:nj/	'assurance (f.)'	/sš/	/sšer/	'became wild'
/tn/	/tnaṣal/	'was pulled'	/sm/	/smeʃ/	heard'
/tl/	/tlajam/	'was embarrassed'	/sn/	/snu:n/	'teeth'
/tr/	/trasad/	'was stunned'	/sl/	/slem/	'emerged safe'
/tw/	/twassat/	'mediated'	/sr/	/srux/	'pleasure'
/ty/	/tyu:s/	'male goats'	/sw/	/swer/	'(was) defeated'
/kt/	/ktə:r/	'much (pl.)'	/sy/	/syu:l/	'floods'
/kf/	/kfu:f/	'palms'	/št/	/štut/	'shores'
/ks/	/ksu:r/	'parts'	/šk/	/šku:k/	'doubts'
/kb/	/kbə:r/	'big (pl.)'	/ſf/	/ſfey/	'became well (after sickness)'
/kd/	/kdeb/	'told lies'	/šh/	/šħur:/	'months'
/kš/	/kħur:b/	'heels'	/šb/	/šbeš/	'ate enough'
/km/	/kma:m/	'sleeves'	/šd/	/šda:d/	'strong (pl.)'
/kn/	/kna:si/	'trash (f.)'	/šg/	/šgey/	'became miserable'
/kl/	/klibbi/	'dogs'	/šm/	/šmu:š/	'candles'
/kr/	/kru:b/	'disasters'	/šr/	/šreb/	'drank'
/kw/	/kwa:m/	'heaps'	/šw/	/šwab/	'clubs (i.e., big sticks)'
/ky/	/kyu:s/	'sacks'			
/ft/	/ftu:ħ/	'success'			
/fk/	/fka:r/	'a male's name'	/šy/	/šyal/	'loads'
/f?/	/f?arḍu/	'in his land'	/xf/	/xfey/	'disappeared'
/fs/	/fsinni/	'in a tooth (f.)'	/xd/	/xdu:d/	'cheeks'
/fš/	/fšaš/	'lungs'	/xz/	/xzey/	'felt ashamed'
/fx/	/fxe:mi/	'in a tent (f.)'	/xj/	/xjel/	'felt shy'
/fħ/	/fħem/	'felt thirsty'	/xm/	/xmu:r/	'drinks'
/fħ/	/fħem/	'understood'	/xl/	/xley/	'became free (from work)'
/fb/	/fbaladu/	'in his town'			
/fd/	/fdə:ru/	'in his home'	/xr/	/xru:j/	'sacks'
/fg/	/fger/	'became poor'	/xy/	/xya:ra/	'a cucumber'
/fz/	/fżaq:š/	'terrible (pl.)'	/ħt/	/ħtat/	'pieces'
/fj/	/fjanni/	'in a paradise (f.)'	/ħk/	/ħka:yi/	'story (f.)'
/fg/	/fgalltu/	'in his wheat'	/ħf/	/ħfey/	'did his utmost'
/fq/	/fħe:nu/	'in his eye (f.)'	/ħs/	/ħsu:n/	'forts'
/fm/	/fma:lu/	'in his property'	/ħb/	/ħba:l/	'ropes'

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/ħd/	/ħdi/	'singing (for camels)'	/gn/	/gneħ/	'felt satisfied'
/ħg/	/ħgu:g/	'rights'	/gl/	/gla:m/	'pencils'
/ħz/	/ħza:b/	'parties'	/gr/	/gres/	'got stung'
/ħj/	/ħju:r/	'laps'	/gw/	/gwar/	'forehead'
/ħm/	/ħmey/	'became warm'	/gy/	/gya:m/	'rising'
/ħl/	/ħlem/	'dreamt'	/zf/	/zfet/	'was disgusted'
/ħr/	/ħrem/	'was prohibited'	/zg/	/zge:m/	'small mouse'
/ħy/	/ħya:g/	'fried onion'	/zħ/	/zħem/	'became naughty'
/ħt/	/ħtak/	'scandals'	/zm/	/zmeg/	'became angry'
/ħb/	/ħbar/	'pieces (of meat)'	/zl/	/zleg/	'slipped (in speech)'
/ħd/	/ħdey/	'became quiet'	/zr/	/zra:r/	'button'
/ħz/	/ħzel/	'became lean'	/zw/	/zwa:r/	'throats'
/ħj/	/ħju:m/	'attack'	/jf/	/jfel/	'felt scared'
/ħm/	/ħmu:m/	'worries (n.)'	/js/	/ħsu:r/	'bridges'
/ħn/	/ħni/	'here'	/jħ/	/jħem/	'showed greed'
/bt/	/btu:n/	'bellies'	/jb/	/jba:l/	'mountains'
/bk/	/bkal/	'water jars'	/jg/	/jgu:l/	'points (in a local game)'
/bf/	/bfilli/	'with a cork (f.)'	/jm/	/jmaħ/	'weeks (lit. Fridays)'
/bs/	/bsu:r/	'with a fence'	/jn/	/jna:n/	'madness'
/bš/	/bša:ra/	'good news (f.)'	/jr/	/jra:b/	'a kind of case'
/bx/	/bxel/	'became miserly'	/gf/	/gfel/	'took a nap'
/bh/	/bħa:r/	'seas'	/għ/	/għey/	'fainted'
/ħħ/	/ħħimmi/	'with zeal (f.)'	/għ/	/għey/	'became rich'
/bd/	/bdam/	'with blood'	/għ/	/għey/	'became costly'
/bg/	/bgubba/	'with a dome (f.)'	/għ/	/għi/	'glue'
/bz/	/bzimmi/	'with honesty (f.)'	/għ/	/għal/	'beasts'
/bj/	/bjalaħ/	'indifferently'	/għ/	/għal/	'became beefy'
/bg/	/bga:l/	'mules'	/għ/	/għey/	'loved'
/bq/	/bqimmi/	'with a turban (f.)'	/għ/	/għeg/	'people (lit. worshippers)'
/bm/	/bmayyi/	'with water (f.)'	/għ/	/għa:d/	'minds'
/bn/	/bnaq:r/	'with fire (f.)'	/għ/	/għu:l/	'luggage'
/bl/	/bley/	'became torn out'	/għ/	/għu:l/	'calves'
/br/	/bru:j/	'towers'	/għ/	/għa:l/	'became blind'
/bw/	/bwiššu/	'with his face'	/għ/	/għu:l/	'became higher'
/by/	/byaddu/	'with his hand (f.)'	/għ/	/għey/	'sweated'
/dk/	/dku:r/	'males'	/għ/	/għiġ/	'children'
/df/	/dfey/	'felt warm'	/għ/	/għiġ/	'priced (adj.)'
/dš/	/dšeħ/	'showed greed'	/għ/	/għieg/	'enough'
/dh/	/dheħ/	'was stunned'	/għ/	/għiġ/	'hopeful'
/db/	/dba:ħa/	'hyenas'	/mt/	/mtħamman/	'inspector'
/dħ/	/dħi/	'prayer'	/mk/	/mkaffey/	'rusty'
/dm/	/dmu:ħ/	'tears (n.)'	/mħ/	/mħammel/	'ready to work'
/dr/	/drey/	'got accustomed'	/mf/	/mfattex/	'mixed'
/dw/	/dwey/	'inkpots'	/ms/	/msaddey/	'baked'
/dy/	/dyar/	'homes'	/mħ/	/mħammer/	'foolish'
/gt/	/gtar/	'caves'	/mx/	/mxallat/	'deformed'
/gf/	/gfaf/	'baskets (of a local type)'	/mh/	/mħammas/	'persistent'
/gs/	/gsu:r/	'palaces'	/mb/	/mbaddal/	'divided'
/gb/	/gbu:r/	'graves'	/md/	/mda:ger/	'hair dresser'
/gd/	/gder/	'could (do)'	/mg/	/mgassam/	
/gm/	/gma:ħ/	'cloth'	/mz/	/mzayen/	

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/mʃ/	/mja:ħhem/	'bully'	/rf/	/rfeħ/	'became lean'
/mg/	/mgayyar/	'changed'	/rs/	/rsey/	'matured'
/mʂ/	/mʃaffen/	'rotten'	/rħ/	/rħa:yi/	'stone-mill (f.)'
/mn/	/mnawwer/	'lit'	/rb/	/rbekħ/	'profitted'
/ml/	/mlattam/	'veiled'	/rd/	/rdęħ/	'sucked (milk)'
/mr/	/mräjjel/	'manly'	/rg/	/rga:d/	'sleep (n.)'
/mw/	/mwattag/	'well fixed'	/rz/	/rzeg/	'earned (living)'
/my/	/myu:ħsa/	'looseness (f.)'	/rj/	/rjey/	'became promising'
/nt/	/ntey/	'females'	/rħi/	/rħa:yi/	'care (f.)'
/nk/	/nkammel/	'continue (1.m.s.)'	/rm/	/rmed/	'had a pink eye'
/nᵖ/	/nᵖammel/	'hope (1.m.s.)'	/ry/	/rya:li/	'saliva (f.)'
/nf/	/nfatteħ/	'inspect (1.m.s.)'	/wt/	/wtey/	'degenerated'
/ns/	/nsattef/	'arrange (1.m.s.)'	/wk/	/wka:li/	'inn (f.)'
/nx/	/nxa:li/	'wheat crust (f.)'	/ws/	/wseħ/	'became wider'
/nħ/	/nħalley/	'decorate (1.m.s.)'	/wš/	/wša:yi/	'treachery (f.)'
/nh/	/nħaffet/	'feel weak (1.m.s.)'	/wx/	/wxem/	'became idle'
/nb/	/nbayyen/	'uncover (1.m.s.)'	/wħ/	/wħel/	'met a problem or walked'
/nd/	/ndalley/	'lower (1.m.s.)'	/wb/	/wbatta/	'and a duck (f.)'
/ng/	/nganneb/	'feel cold (1.m.s.)'	/wd/	/wda:n/	'ears'
/nz/	/nzalleġ/	'trick (1.m.s.)'	/wg/	/wgubba/	'and a dome (f.)'
/nj/	/njej/	'come (1.m.s.)'	/wz/	/wzalla:t/	'and sins'
/ng/	/nganney/	'sing (1.m.s.)'	/wj/	/wja:ħ/	'pains'
/nń/	/nħa:fer/	'try (1.m.s.)'	/wg/	/wgalli/	'and grain'
/nm/	/nmalles/	'stroke (1.m.s.)'	/wń/	/wńer/	'became difficult'
/nl/	/nlef/	'go round (1.m.s.)'	/wm/	/wmayyi/	'and water (f.)'
/nr/	/nrawweħ/	'go home (1.m.s.)'	/wn/	/wna:ši/	'cranes'
/nw/	/nwattę́/	'bow (1.m.s.)'	/wl/	/wla:d/	'children'
/ny/	/nya:bi/	'delegating (f.)'	/wr/	/wriggi/	'papers'
/lt/	/lta:m/	'veil'	/wy/	/wyammu/	'and towards him'
/lk/	/lkem/	'ate too much'	/yt/	/ytoł/	'looks (v.)'
/lp/	/lPahly/	'to my family'	/yk/	/ykawwem/	'heaps (v.)'
/lf/	/lfa:ga/	'hiccup (f.)'	/yṛ/	/yPammel/	'hopes (v.)'
/ls/	/lseħ/	'was stung'	/yt/	/yfasser/	'explains'
/lš/	/lšiggū/	'to his quarter'	/ys/	/ysed/	'blocks (v.)'
/lx/	/lxa:ley/	'to my (maternal) uncle'	/yħ/	/yħem/	'smells (v.)'
/lħ/	/lħeg/	'reached'	/yx/	/yxalley/	'keeps'
/lh/	/lħet/	'swallowed'	/yħ/	/yħalley/	'sweatens'
/lb/	/lbittu/	'to his daughter'	/yħ/	/yħeb/	'explodes'
/ld/	/ldaq:ru/	'to his house'	/yb/	/yber/	'treats gently'
/lg/	/lgey/	'found'	/yd/	/ydeħ/	'works hard'
/lz/	/lzem/	'followed closely'	/yg/	/ygħot/	'steals'
/lħ/	/lħa:m/	'reins'	/yz/	/yzon/	'thinks'
/lg/	/lgey/	'was cancelled'	/yj/	/yji:b/	'brings'
/lq/	/lqeb/	'played'	/yġ/	/yġawwel/	'becomes greedy or fierce'
/lm/	/lma:mi/	'trash (f.)'	/yħ/	/yħayyet/	'calls'
/ln/	/lna:su/	'to his people'	/ym/	/ymawwet/	'kills'
/lr/	/lrabbu/	'to his God'	/yn/	/ynagget/	'drops (v.) (liquid)'
/lw/	/lwad/	'the boy'	/yl/	/ylem/	'collects'
/ly/	/lya:ga/	'collar (f.)'	/yr/	/yrammeh/	'trots (v.)'
/rt/	/rtaq:l/	'pounds'	/yw/	/ywaddey/	'takes (to somebody)'
/rk/	/rkəb/	'mounted'			

TABLE XXI

*Medial Consonant Clusters: -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>- (Geminates are included)*

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/tt/	/hitti/	'piece (f.)'	/sf/	/wasfa/	'prescription (f.)'
/tf/	/ṣatfa/	'lane (f.)'	/ss/	/fiissu/	'his voice'
/ts/	/ṣatsj/	'cough (f.)'	/sx/	/ma:sxa/	'distasteful (f.)'
/tš/	/hatšog/	'she will drop in'	/sh/	/mashi/	'erasing (f.)'
/th/	/fathi/	'opening (f.)'	/sh/	/na:shi/	'her family'
/th/	/fa:thi/	'left it (f.) or her'	/sb/	/naṣba/	'pavilion (f.) (for funeral ceremony)'
/tb/	/kitbi/	'habit (f.)'			
/tg/	/wa:tgi/	'well fixed (f.)'	/sd/	/gasdu/	'his purpose'
/tz/	/ratzi/	'trot (f.) (by donkey)'	/sj/	/yisjed/	'yields'
/tʂ/	/ba:tʂi/	'smart (f.)'	/sg/	/Pəsgar/	'smaller'
/tm/	/katmi/	'stuffy (f.)'	/ʂ/	/yisʂar/	'becomes fierce'
/tn/	/fitni/	'beauty (f.)'	/sm/	/Pismu/	'his name'
/tl/	/gatli/	'beating (f.)'	/sn/	/na:snı/	'our family'
/tr/	/gutra/	'hole (f.) (used by reptiles)'	/sl/	/yisley/	'fries'
			/sr/	/Siṣri/	'difficult (f.) to do'
/tw/	/fatwa/	'counsel (f.)'	/sw/	/yiswa/	'equals (v.)'
/ty/	/ratyi/	'scolding (f.)'	/sy/	/nasyi/	'forgetting (f.)'
/kt/	/nukti/	'joke (f.)'	/št/	/giṣṭa/	'cream (f.)'
/kk/	/dikki/	'bench (f.)'	/ʂʂ/	/fiṣṣi/	'lung (f.)'
/ks/	/naksi/	'reverse (f.)'	/šh/	/ri:shi/	'its (f.) feathers'
/kʂ/	/nakʂi/	'stroke (f.) (by a bird's beak)'	/šd/	/yiṣdøy/	'sings'
			/ʂg/	/yiṣga/	'becomes miserable'
/kh/	/fa:khi/	'fruit (f.)'	/ʂm/	/baṣmi/	'eating (f.) (much)'
/kb/	/rukba/	'knee (f.)'	/ʂn/	/iṣni/	'we lived'
/kʂ/	/rakʂa/	'bow (f.) (in prayer)'	/ʂl/	/yiṣley/	'aches (v.)'
/km/	/Sakma/	'arrest (f.)'	/ʂr/	/kaṣra/	'bad omen (f.)'
/kn/	/lakni/	'accent (f.)'	/ʂw/	/naṣwəy/	'my (light) stick'
/kl/	/bukli/	'water jar (f.)'	/čt/	/načtu/	'his lie (f.)'
/kr/	/Sikri/	'impure (f.)'	/čk/	/načkom/	'your (pl.) lies'
/ky/	/bakyi/	'crying (f.)'	/čh/	/načhi/	'her lies'
/ps/	/baṛsu/	'his prestige'	/čn/	/načni/	'our lies'
/pm/	/luṛmu/	'his cunning'	/xt/	/baxtu/	'his luck'
/ft/	/lifti/	'turnip (f.)'	/xf/	/yixfa/	'disappears'
/ff/	/haffi/	'trace (f.)'	/xx/	/baxxa/	'small amount of liquid (f.)'
/fs/	/nafsu/	'himself'			
/fʂ/	/ṣafʂu/	'his furniture'	/xb/	/yuxbot/	'beats (v.)'
/fx/	/nafxa/	'haughtiness (f.)'	/xd/	/ya:xdow/	'they take'
/fħ/	/naħħi/	'grant (f.)'	/xz/	/yixzow/	'they feel ashamed'
/fh/	/ṣa:fhi/	'he saw her (f.)'	/xm/	/faxma/	'luxurious (f.)'
/fd/	/nafdi/	'escape (f.)'	/xl/	/naxli/	'palm tree (f.)'
/fg/	/yifgaʂ/	'deflates'	/xr/	/nixri/	'(unguarded) wealth (f.)'
/fz/	/laħzu/	'his word'			
/fn/	/hifni/	'handful (f.)'	/xw/	/riżwa/	'soft (f.)'
/fl/	/gifle:n/	'two locks'	/xy/	/Piṣxi/	'plot (f.)'
/fr/	/jafrä/	'untidy (f.)'	/ħt/	/balaħtu/	'his date (f.)'
/fy/	/ħa:fyi/	'bare footed (f.)'	/ħk/	/yiħkey/	'tells a story'
/st/	/wɔ:sta:/	'mediation (f.)'	/ħf/	/yiħfi/	'becomes bare-footed'
/sk/	/miski:n/	'miserable'			

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/ħs/	/laħsi/	'very small amount (f.)'	/ħd/	/ħaddi/	'pull (f.)'
/ħš/	/maħħeħey/	'stuffed'	/ħg/	/yidgen/	'shows skill'
/ħħ/	/sħiħi/	'health (f.)'	/ħm/	/yidħeħey/	'prays (v.)'
/ħħ/	/samaħħi/	'her forgiveness'	/ħl/	/badli/	'bleeds'
/ħb/	/suħba/	'friendship (f.)'	/ħd/	/buðra/	'suit (f.)'
/ħd/	/wiħdi/	'one (f.)'	/ħg/	/na:dyi/	'powder (f.)'
/ħg/	/saħħga/	'crushing (f.)'	/ħj/	/yigħaq/	'a female's name'
/ħj/	/miħjar/	'querry'	/ħm/	/wa:għfa/	'cuts'
/ħm/	/laħmi/	'meat (f.)'	/ħn/	/yigħoww/	'standing (f.)'
/ħn/	/miħni/	'disaster (f.)'	/ħn/	/yigħġi/	'they become cruel'
/ħl/	/waħħi/	'pitfall (f.)'	/ħl/	/lagħu/	'his fun'
/ħw/	/yiħħwey/	'he works wonders'	/ħw/	/zo:gha/	'her taste'
/ħy/	/ma:ħħi/	'ignorant (f.)'	/ħb/	/nagħbu/	'his nickname'
/ħt/	/jiħtu/	'his native place (f.)'	/ħd/	/yigħdar/	'can do'
/ħf/	/lahfi/	'eagerness (f.)'	/ħz/	/ħagħġey/	'my right'
/ħħ/	/ja:ħħi/	'her prestige'	/ħm/	/yigħażu/	'feels disgusted'
/ħb/	/wahbi/	'tip (f.)'	/ħm/	/yigħġi/	'pulls out'
/ħd/	/yiħdi/	'he becomes quiet'	/ħn/	/yigħoww/	'they read'
/ħz/	/yiħzel/	'jokes (v.)'	/ħn/	/yigħżi/	'they become strong'
/ħm/	/fahmey/	'my understanding'	/ħn/	/mi:z-tu/	'remaining (f.)'
/ħn/	/ja:hni/	'our influence'	/ħl/	/yizfat/	'his worth (f.)'
/ħl/	/Pahley/	'my family'	/ħn/	/yizħi/	'becomes bored'
/ħr/	/mahrej/	'well boiled'	/ħr/	/ħibze:n/	'shines'
/ħw/	/yihwa/	'likes'	/ħw/	/rizgu/	'two parties'
/ħy/	/la:hyi/	'indifferent (f.)'	/ħw/	/ħa:zzu/	'his earnings'
/ħt/	/jibtu/	'I brought it (m.)'	/ħw/	/yigħoww/	'queer (f.)'
/ħk/	/yibkey/	'cries'	/ħs/	/yizsag/	'they make noise (by talking)'
/ħs/	/ħabsi/	'imprisonment (f.)'	/ħs/	/yizmag/	'shouts'
/ħs/	/ħabši/	'bite (f.)'	/ħm/	/ħuznu/	'becomes angry'
/ħx/	/labxa/	'paste (f.)'	/ħm/	/ħuznu/	'his sorrow'
/ħħ/	/nabħi/	'howl (f.)'	/ħl/	/yizleg/	'slips'
/ħħ/	/še:bhi/	'her grey hair'	/ħl/	/muzrey/	'disgraceful'
/ħb/	/ħabbu/	'kiss (f.)'	/ħl/	/bażżew/	'my top (toy)'
/ħb/	/ħabbi/	'local head dress (f.)'	/ħl/	/ħa:jtey/	'my thing (f.)'
/ħb/	/ħabbi/	'remains'	/ħl/	/ħa:jtey/	'becomes rough'
/ħb/	/ħabbi/	'gives generously'	/ħl/	/ħa:jsu/	'his frivolity'
/ħb/	/ħabbi/	'lame (f.)'	/ħl/	/ħa:jsu/	'her temper'
/ħb/	/ħabbi/	'he bullies others'	/ħl/	/ħa:jbey/	'my eye lid'
/ħb/	/ħabbi/	'a female's name'	/ħl/	/ħi:jzow/	'they reward'
/ħb/	/ħabbi/	'cheese (f.) or we brought'	/ħl/	/ħi:jzi/	'reason (f.)'
/ħb/	/ħabbi/	'stupid (f.)'	/ħl/	/ħi:jzi/	'his hamlet'
/ħb/	/ħabbi/	'piece of fish or meat (f.)'	/ħl/	/ħajnu/	'attack (f.)'
/ħb/	/ħabbi/	'beggary'	/ħl/	/ħajni/	'his (speedy) camels'
/ħb/	/ħabbi/	'feels warm'	/ħl/	/ħi:jnu/	'polishes'
/ħb/	/ħabbi/	'shows greed'	/ħl/	/ħi:jley/	'runs'
/ħb/	/ħabbi/	'comes in'	/ħl/	/ħi:jley/	'dried dates (f.)'
/ħb/	/ħabbi/	'his praise'	/ħl/	/ħi:jley/	'takes a nap'
/ħb/	/ħabbi/	'call (f.)'	/ħl/	/ħi:jley/	'stomach ache (f.)'
/ħb/	/ħabbi/	'he crawls'	/ħl/	/ħi:jley/	'laughs heartily'

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/gg/	/bagga/	'trick (f.)'	/ng/	/yungol/	'gets crowded'
/gm/	/yigma/	'faints'	/nʃ/	/ganqɑ:n/	'satisfied'
/gn/	/yigni/	'becomes rich'	/nn/	/sinni/	'tooth (f.)'
/gl/	/yigli/	'becomes costly'	/nw/	/yinwey/	'intends'
/gr/	/mugrey/	'tempting'	/lt/	/hi:ltu/	'his trick (f.)'
/gw/	/yigwa/	'likes'	/lk/	/Silki/	'matter (f.)'
/tʃ/	/mi:tʃem/	'dark'	/lf/	/malfu:g/	'(of cloth) mended'
/ʃk/	/yuʃkom/	'holds'	/ls/	/malsi/	'soft (f.)'
/ʃf/	/guʃfu/	'his stick'	/lʃ/	/galši/	'missing (f.) a target'
/ʃs/	/yiʃsey/	'disobeys'	/lx/	/malxa/	'bruise (f.)'
/ʃʃ/	/naʃʃi/	'good beating'	/lh/	/milħu/	'his salt'
/ʃh/	/ku:ʃha/	'her elbow'	/lh/	/ga:lhi/	'said it (f.)'
/ʃb/	/li:ʃbi/	'game (f.)'	/lb/	/galbu/	'his heart'
/ʃd/	/ba:ʃdu/	'after him'	/ld/	/jildi/	'piece of leather (f.)'
/ʃʃ/	/naʃʃu/	'gave him a blow'	/lg/	/filgu/	'his lumber'
/ʃm/	/ni:ʃmi/	'blessing (f.)'	/lz/	/yilzeg/	'fixes'
/ʃn/	/ju:ʃni/	'we felt hungry'	/lj/	/yiljem/	'confuses'
/ʃl/	/yi:ʃli/	'is promoted'	/lg/	/yilgey/	' cancels'
/ʃr/	/yi:ʃra/	'becomes destitute'	/lʃ/	/ʃalši/	'flash (f.)'
/ʃw/	/yi:ʃwey/	'barks (v.)'	/lm/	/yilma:ʃ/	'shines'
/ʃy/	/yi:ʃyi/	'becomes sick'	/ln/	/gulni/	'said (1.pl.)'
/mt/	/gi:mtu/	'his worth (f.)'	/ll/	/Silli/	'sickness (f.)'
/mk/	/la:mkom/	'reproached you (pl.)	/lw/	/balwa/	'ordeal (f.)'
/ms/	/yimsek/	'catches'	/ly/	/malyi/	'filling (f.)'
/mš/	/rimšu/	'his eye lashes'	/rt/	/ji:rtu/	'his neighbourhood (f.)'
/mh/	/ysa:mħu/	'forgives him'	/rk/	/yirkab/	'mounts'
/mh/	/yimhi/	'becomes liquid'	/rf/	/yirfa:ʃ/	'lifts up'
/mb/	/sambu/	'dark skinned'	/rs/	/yirsem/	'draws'
/md/	/ʃumdi/	'Omdah (equal to village sherrif)'	/rš/	/birša:mi/	'pill (f.)'
/mz/	/yimzeʃ/	'mixes'	/rx/	/sarxa/	'cry (f.)'
/mʃ/	/lamʃi/	'polish (f.)'	/rħ/	/yirħam/	'shows mercy'
/mm/	/lammi/	'crowd (f.)'	/rh/	/nä:rhom/	'their fire'
/mn/	/samni/	'cooking fat (f.)'	/rb/	/yurbot/	'ties'
/ml/	/ʃamli/	'bad deed (f.)'	/rd/	/girdi/	'(female) monkey'
/mr/	/nimri/	'number (f.)'	/rg/	/zarga/	'blue (f.)'
/mw/	/ʃamwa:h/	'a kind of leather'	/rz/	/yirza:ʃ/	'puts down (angrily)'
/my/	/ʃamyi/	'blind (f.)'	/rj/	/yirja:ʃ/	'goes back'
/nt/	/ʃanta/	'bag (f.)'	/rg/	/yirgab/	'likes'
/nk/	/bunku/	'his type'	/rʃ/	/yirʃa/	'grazes'
/nf/	/manfi/	'remote place'	/rm/	/yirmey/	'throws'
/ns/	/yinsi/	'forgets'	/rn/	/gurna/	'height (f.)'
/nš/	/yinšeyp/	'builds'	/rr/	/ṣutra/	'bundle (f.)'
/nx/	/yinxa:ʃ/	'exaggerates'	/rw/	/yirwey/	'waters (v.)'
/nħ/	/minħi:/	'grant (f.)'	/ry/	/sa:ryi/	'pole (f.)'
/nh/	/yinhey/	'finishes'	/wt/	/yiwtag/	'becomes fixed'
/nb/	/janbu/	'beside him'	/ws/	/hawsi/	'commotion'
/nd/	/sandı/	'support (f.)'	/wš/	/dawši/	'noise (f.)'
/ng/	/yungol/	'carries (from place to place)'	/wh/	/lawħa/	'twist (f.)'
/nz/	/qanzi/	'she goat'	/wj/	/yiwja:ʃ/	'aches'
/nħ/	/yinji/	'escapes'	/wʃ/	/yiwħa/	'recalls'
			/ww/	/sawwa/	'cooked'

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/wy/	/ma:wyi/	'(of water melon) not fresh (f.)'	/yg/	/saygɛ:n/	'two goldsmiths'
/yt/	/fa:ytı/	'passing by (f.)'	/yš/	/sa:yšu/	'enduring him'
/yk/	/ša:yki/	'thorny (f.)'	/ym/	/ga:yymi/	'departing (f.)'
/yf/	/xa:yfi/	'afraid (f.)'	/yn/	/ša:ynu/	'spoiling him'
/yh/	/ša:yhi/	'her tea'	/yl/	/ša:yli/	'pregnant (f.) or indignant (f.)'
/yb/	/ša:ybi/	'loose (f.)'	/yr/	/fa:yri/	'boiling (f.)'
/yd/	/ga:ydi/	'on fire (f.)'	/yw/	/Piywam/	'unhappy (used of days)'
/yg/	/ra:ygi/	'healthy (f.)'			
/yz/	/fa:yzi/	'a female's name (f.)'			
/yj/	/ha:yji/	'furious (f.)'	/yy/	/mayyi/	'water (f.)'

TABLE XXII

*Medial Consonant Clusters: -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>-*

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/tʃf/	/kattfu/	'bind (m.s.) him!'	/xxt/	/təxxty/	(something)!
/tts/	/gəttsu/	'immerse (m.s.) him (in a liquid)!'	/xxd/	/waxxdu/	'his blow (f.)'
/ttš/	/fattšu/	'inspect (m.s.) him!'			'let (m.s.) him get used (to do some- thing)!"
/tth/	/mfatthi/	'smart (f.)'			
/tb/	/kattbu/	'make (m.s.) him write!'	/xxr/	/saxxru:həm/	'make (pl.) them work!'
/ttg/	/mwəttga/	'staying (f.)'	/ħht/	/sħħtey/	'my health'
/ttm/	/mħattmi/	'dark (f.)'	/ħħħ/	/baħħha/	'her ducks'
/ttn/	/mattnu/	'make (m.s.) it (m.) tighter!'	/ħħn/	/baħħni/	'our ducks'
/ttl/	/mħattla:həm/	'delaying (f.) them'	/ħħr/	/baħħrow/	'go (pl.) north!'
/ttr/	/mnħattr/	'raining (f.)'	/ħħf/	/lahħfu/	'make (m.s.) him feel eager!'
/kkt/	/sakku/	'let (m.s.) him keep quiet!'	/ħħm/	/fahħmu/	'let (m.s.) him under- stand!'
/kkf/	/sakkfu/	'make (m.s.) him stay!'	/ħħl/	/ħħħlow/	'hurry (pl.)!'
/kkb/	/rakkbu/	'let (m.s.) him ride!'	/ħħr/	/sħħħru/	'keep (m.s.) him awake!'
/kkħ/	/rakkħu/	'make (m.s.) him kneel!'	/bbt/	/jibbtu/	'his cloak'
/fft/	/hafftu/	'his little amount (f.)'	/bbk/	/ħabbkom/	'liked you (pl.)'
/ffs/	/saffsu/	'tread (m.s.) upon it (m.)!'	/bbs/	/gabbsu:həm/	'pick (pl.) them!'
/ffš/	/gaffšu:həm/	'catch (pl.) them!'	/bbx/	/sabbxbow/	'search (pl.)!'
/ffħ/	/taffħu/	'fill (m.s.) it (m.)!'	/bbħ/	/sabbħbow/	'use (pl.) manure!'
/ffħ/	/laffħi/	'wrapped it (f.)'	/bbd/	/labbdū:həm/	'keep (pl.) wakeful over night!'
/ffd/	/naffdu/	'save (m.s.) him!'	/bbg/	/taħbbu:həm/	'her love'
/ffz/	/naffzu/	'carry (m.s.) it (m.) out!'	/bbv/	/taħbbvū:həm/	'hide (pl.) them!'
/ffj/	/xaffju/	'line (m.s.) it (m.) with cement!'	/bbħ/	/taħbbħu:həm/	'fold (pl.) them!'
/ffħ/	/ħaffħu/	'let (m.s.) him mediate!'	/bbi/	/gabbħu:həm/	'mould (pl.) them!'
/ffn/	/xaffnu/	'hide (m.s.) him!'	/ddf/	/naddfu:həm/	'go (pl.) south!'
/fl/	/gafflow/	'stop (pl.) working!'	/dds/	/gadħħsu:həm/	'let (m.s.) him be patient!'
/fr/	/saffru/	'let (m.s.) him travel!'	/ddħ/	/maddħi/	'clean (pl.) them!'
/sst/	/ħissty/	'his share (f.)'	/ddħ/	/baddħow/	'respect (pl.) them!'
/ssf/	/gassfu:həm/	'break (pl.) them!'	/ddm/	/gaddmow/	'stretched it (f.)'
/ssb/	/nassbu/	'help (m.s.) him!'	/ddn/	/gaddni/	'do (pl.) well!'
/ssd/	/wassdu/	'let (m.s.) him lie!'	/ddl/	/baddlu:həm/	'hurry (pl.) up!'
/ssħ/	/wassħu/	'widen (m.s.) it (m.)!'	/ddr/	/baddrow/	'equal to us'
/ssm/	/gassmow/	'divide (pl.)!'	/ddy/	/Piddyu:k/	'change (pl.) them!'
/ssn/	/massni/	'touched our (feelings)'	/ggt/	/tagħġtu/	'come (pl.) early!'
/ssl/	/ħasslu/	'catch (m.s.) him!'	/ggħ/	/lagħħu:həm/	'the cocks'
/ssr/	/gassru/	'shorten (m.s.) it (m.)!'			'his knock (f.)'
/ssħ/	/ħassħu/	'his agony (f.)'	/ggs/	/raggsu:həm/	'throw (pl.) (the ball) at them!'
/ssf/	/naħħsu/	'dry (m.s.) it (m.)!'	/għs/	/tagħġiżu:həm/	'let (pl.) them dance!'
/ssħ/	/faħħsu/	'make (m.s.) him like	/ggb/	/nagħġu:ha/	'break (pl.) them!'

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/ggd/	/gaggdow/	'make (pl.) knots!'	/lld/	/jalldu/	'cover (m.s.) it (m.)!'
/ggm/	/saggmow/	'put (pl.) in front!'	/llg/	/ſallgow/	'start (pl.) to cook or hang (pl.)!'
/ggn/	/laggnu:hom/	'tell (pl.) them!'	/lls/	/gallSu:hom/	'pull (pl.) them out!'
/ggl/	/Gagglu:hom/	'make (pl.) them reasonable!'	/llm/	/ſallmu/	'teach (m.s.) him!'
/ggr/	/saggrow/	'light (pl.) a fire!'	/rrt/	/garrtow/	'be (pl.) strict!'
/zzg/	/mazzgu/	'tear (m.s.) it (m.)!'	/rrk/	/barrku/	'(of the camel) let (m.s.) it (m.) kneel!'
/zzm/	/Sazzmow/	'gather (pl.) strength!'	/rrf/	/garrfu/	'make (m.s.) him feel disgusted!'
/zrz/	/fazzrow/	'guess (pl.)!'	/rrs/	/garrsu/	'pinch (m.s.) him!'
/jjt/	/hijjtū/	'his ownership paper or his reason (f.)'	/rrš/	/farršu/	'clean (m.s.) it (m.)!'
/jjš/	/hajjšow/	'talk (pl.) nonsense!'	/rrb/	/xarrbu/	'ruin (m.s.) it (m.)!'
/jjh/	/najjhū/	'let (m.s.) him succeed!'	/rrd/	/garrdu/	'don't (m.s.) give him any property!'
/jjh/	/najjhī/	'her gossip'	/rrg/	/ſarrgow/	'go (pl.) east!'
/jjb/	/rajjbow/	'talk (pl.) gently!'	/rrj/	/farrju:hom/	'let (pl.) them have a look!'
/jjm/	/rajjmow/	'throw (pl.) rocks!'	/rrg/	/farrgu/	'empty (m.s.) it (m.)!'
/jjl/	/rajjlow/	'act (pl.) like men!'	/rrš/	/marršu/	'cut (m.s.) it (m.) to pieces!'
/jjr/	/hajjrow/	'prohibit (pl.)!'	/rrm/	/ħarrmu/	'make (m.s.) him abstain!'
/ggt/	/daggtu/	'his disaster (f.)'	/wwt/	/siwwtu/	'his body side (f.)'
/ggb/	/raggbu:hom/	'let (pl.) them like (something)!'	/wwd/	/xawwdəw/	'wade (pl.) (in shallow water)!'
/ggr/	/saggru/	'make (m.s.) it (m.) smaller!'	/wwm/	/gawwmu/	'wake (m.s.) him up!'
/qṣt/	/Pašiqlistu/	'its (m.) rays'	/wwn/	/lawwnu/	'colour (m.s.) it (m.)!'
/qṣs/	/naqṣsu/	'let (m.s.) him sleep!'	/wwl/	/ħawwlu:hom/	'change (m.s.) their course!'
/qṣb/	/laqṣbu:/	'let (pl.) him play!'	/wwr/	/sawwru/	'build (m.s.) a fence round it (m.)!'
/qṣd/	/baqṣdu/	'keep (m.s.) him away!'	/yyt/	/xayytu/	'his sister'
/qṣm/	/naqṣmu/	'grind (m.s.) it (m.) to powder!'	/yyl/	/xayykom/	'your (pl.) brother'
/qṣr/	/waqṣru/	'make (m.s.) it (m.) difficult!'	/yyh/	/fayyħu/	'make (m.s.) it (m.) leak (of news)!'
/mmt/	/lammtu/	'his gang'	/yyh/	/zayyhi/	'like her'
/mms/	/ħammsu/	'bake (m.s.) it (m.) well!'	/yyb/	/tayybu/	'cook or cure (m.s.) it (m.)!'
/mmd/	/hammdu/	'keep (m.s.) him at bay!'	/yyd/	/gayydu/	'bind (m.s.) him!'
/mmṣ/	/lammu/	'polish (m.s.) it (m.)!'	/yyg/	/ħayygu/	'add (m.s.) salt to it (m.)!'
/mmn/	/xammnaw/	'try (pl.) to guess!'	/yyz/	/mayyzow/	'show (pl.) commonsense!'
/mml/	/ħammlu/	'load (m.s.) it (m.)!'	/yy/	/mayyħu/	'add (m.s.) liquid to it (m.)!'
/mmr/	/sammru/	'nail (m.s.) it (m.)!'	/yym/	/sayydəw/	'catch (pl.) fish!'
/nnt/	/fanntu:hom/	'sort (pl.) them!'	/ynn/	/zayyni/	'like us'
/nnš/	/fannšow/	'go (pl.) to sleep!'	/yyl/	/gayylow/	'have (pl.) a mid-day siesta!'
/nnh/	/fannhi/	'her art'	/yyr/	/tayyru:hom/	'let (pl.) them fly!'
/nnd/	/sanndu/	'support (m.s.) him!'			
/nng/	/xanngu:hom/	'strangle (pl.) them!'			
/llt/	/milltu/	'his type'			
/llk/	/mallku/	'give (m.s.) him chance!'			
/llb/	/gallbow/	'poke (pl.) !'			

TABLE XXIII

*Final Consonant Clusters: -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>*

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/tk/	/hatk/	'scandalizing'	/sn/	/hosn/	'beauty'
/tf/	/gætf/	'picking'	/sl/	/fasl/	'class-room'
/ts/	/gats/	'diving'	/sr/	/gasr/	'palace'
/tx/	/latx/	'loose fellow'	/sy/	/ħasy/	'irrigation stream'
/th/	/fath/	'opening'	/št/	/xošt/	'small knife'
/tb/	/gotb/	'saintly man'	/šč/	/našč/	'kicking'
/tg/	/fatg/	'hole (in clothes)'	/šš/	/našš/	'small swamp'
/tz/	/ratz/	'trotting'	/šm/	/xašm/	'mouth'
/tʃ/	/gatʃ/	'cut (n.)'	/šr/	/našr/	'pain'
/tm/	/xatm/	'seal (n.)'	/šw/	/našw/	'small stick'
/tn/	/bačn/	'stomach'	/xt/	/baxt/	'luck'
/tl/	/rati/	'pound (weight)'	/xs/	/šaxs/	'person'
/tr/	/satr/	'line (n.)'	/xd/	/waxd/	'taking'
/ty/	/ſaty/	'giving'	/xš/	/šaxš/	'calling names'
/kt/	/nokt/	'trick (n.)'	/xl/	/naxl/	'palm trees'
/ks/	/ſaks/	'opposite (n.)'	/xr/	/faxr/	'boasting'
/kš/	/nakš/	'(of birds) picking with the beak'	/xw/	/raxw/	'soft'
			/xy/	/raxy/	'releasing'
/kb/	/rokb/	'riding'	/ht/	/naht/	'hard work or sculp- ture'
/km/	/bokm/	'mute (pl.)'			
/kl/	/šakl/	'shape (n.)'	/hs/	/baňs/	'search (n.)'
/pš/	/ba?š/	'sickness'	/hd/	/laħd/	'death'
/pm/	/lo?m/	'cunning'	/hg/	/baħg/	'frowning'
/ft/	/koft/	'smart fellow'	/ħm/	/faħm/	'coal'
/fs/	/nafs/	'soul'	/ħn/	/saħn/	'plate'
/fš/	/gafš/	'arresting'	/ħl/	/faħl/	'big'
/fx/	/nafx/	'blowing'	/hf/	/lahf/	'snatching'
/fħ/	/naħħ/	'granting'	/ħš/	/nahħ/	'biting'
/fd/	/nafd/	'escape (n.)'	/hb/	/šohb/	'meteors'
/fg/	/lafg/	'stitching'	/hm/	/fahm/	'understanding'
/fz/	/ħeqz/	'preserving'	/bt/	/jebt/	'I brought'
/fġ/	/rafġ/	'raising'	/bk/	/šabk/	'joining'
/fn/	/jefn/	'eyelid'	/bs/	/xabs/	'betrayal'
/fl/	/gafl/	'shutting'	/bš/	/nabš/	'uneartthing'
/fr/	/kafr/	'small village'	/bx/	/taħbx/	'cooking'
/fw/	/ſafw/	'pardon'	/bħ/	/nabħ/	'barking'
/fy/	/taħy/	'extinguishing'	/bd/	/ſabd/	'(of a man) dark in colour or slave'
/st/	/dest/	'falling down'			
/sk/	/mask/	'catching'	/bz/	/xabz/	'baking'
/sf/	/nasf/	'blowing up'	/bš/	/taħbš/	'character'
/sx/	/masx/	'deforming'	/bn/	/jobn/	'cowardice'
/šħ/	/mashħ/	'erasing'	/bl/	/gabl/	'before'
/sb/	/naħb/	'swindling'	/br/	/gabr/	'grave'
/sd/	/għasd/	'aim'	/ds/	/rads/	'heaping'
/sg/	/laġs/	'sticking'	/dh/	/nadħ/	'calling'
/sħ/	/nasħ/	'weaving'	/db/	/nadħb/	'mourning'
/sš/	/lašš/	'stinging'	/dg/	/sedg/	'side (of the face)'
/sm/	/gasm/	'dividing'	/dm/	/radm/	'burying'

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/dr/	/badr/	'full moon'	/mš/	/gamš/	'(sudden) arresting'
/dw/	/sydw/	'member (of a group)'	/mx/	/šamx/	'haughtiness'
/dy/	/bani ſady/	'Beni-Ady': the name of a place in Upper Egypt'	/mh/	/gamh/	'wheat'
			/mg/	/šamg/	'gum'
			/mš/	/gomš/	'cone'
/gt/	/rogħt/	'I became well'	/mn/	/samn/	'cooking fat'
/gf/	/ſagf/	'pieces of pottery'	/ml/	/ħeml/	'load'
/gs/	/rags/	'dancing'	/mr/	/Pamr/	'order' or 'matter'
/gš/	/lags/	'joking'	/nt/	/ſont/	'(pl.) a kind of tree'
/għ/	/naghħ	'aching (of a bruise or wound)'	/nk/	/bank/	'bank'
			/nf/	/sanf/	'kind (n.)'
/gb/	/fogħb/	'end (n.)'	/ns/	/gans/	'(close) watching'
/gd/	/nagħd/	'hole (in cloth)'	/nx/	/fanx/	'cancelling (a contract)'
/gm/	/ragħm/	'number'			
/gl/	/nagħl/	'copying' or 'moving' (a thing)'	/nħ/	/manħ/	'granting'
			/nb/	/janb/	'beside or side'
/gr/	/fagr/	'poverty'	/nd/	/ſend/	'stubbornness or at'
/zt/	/ſożt/	'I wanted'	/ng/	/ſang/	'hanging'
/zf/	/nazf/	'bleeding'	/nz/	/ſanz/	'goat'
/žħ/	/nażħ/	'emptying (from liquid)'	/nš/	/manš/	'preventing'
			/lt/	/gelt/	'I forgave'
/zb/	/ħeżbz/	'party'	/lk/	/selk/	'wire'
/zg/	/lažg/	'sticking'	/lf/	/ſalf/	'feeding'
/zħ/	/mazħ/	'tearing'	/ls/	/hals/	'misconduct or loose'
/zm/	/jazm/	'assurance'	/lh/	/melħ/	'salt'
/zl/	/ħažl/	'separation' or 'dismissal'	/lb/	/solb/	'steel'
			/ld/	/jeld/	'leather'
/zr/	/jazr/	'slaying'	/lg/	/felg/	'lumber'
/jt/	/ħtajt/	'I needed'	/lħ/	/gelħ/	'sail (n.)'
/jz/	/ħajz/	'detaining'	/lm/	/ſelm/	'knowledge'
/jm/	/rajm/	'throwing rocks'	/rt/	/hert/	'I felt confused'
/jn/	/ſaġn/	'making paste'	/rk/	/werk/	'thigh'
/jr/	/haġr/	'desertion'	/rf/	/ſarf/	'spending'
/għ/	/wagħ/	'villain'	/rs/	/gars/	'pinching'
/gz/	/nagħz/	'pricking (with a needle)'	/rš/	/garš/	'eating (crunchy foods)'
/gn/	/dogħn/	'fist'	/rx/	/farrx/	'mischievous'
/it/	/beit/	'I sold'	/rh/	/farħ/	'merriment'
/šk/	/kaſk/	'local type of cakes'	/rb/	/darb/	'street or beating'
/sf/	/goſſ/	'stick'	/rd/	/gerd/	'monkey'
/šš/	/naſſ/	'(good) beating' or 'coffin'	/rg/	/farg/	'difference'
			/rz/	/farz/	'sorting'
/šb/	/šaſb/	'nation'	/rj/	/berj/	'tower'
/šd/	/baſd/	'after'	/rħ/	/ferħ/	'branch'
/šg/	/laſg/	'licking'	/rm/	/garm/	'biting' or 'eating'
/šz/	/taſsz/	'(exaggerated) praise'	/rn/	/forn/	'oven'
/mt/	/zaġmt/	'swallowing'	/rw/	/farw/	'fur'
/mk/	/ramk/	'restlessness'	/ry/	/fary/	'(small) hole'
/ms/	/ſams/	'blinding'	/wy/	/daww/	'shining'

TABLE XXIV

*Medial Consonant Clusters: -C<sub>1</sub>C<sub>2</sub>C<sub>3</sub>-*

Cluster	Example	Meaning	Cluster	Example	Meaning
/tfk/	/lutfkom/	'your (pl.) gentility'	/fdh/	/baʃdom/	'after them'
/fh/	/kitfh/	'her shoulder'	/gl/	/yiŋglow/	'they believe'
/tfl/	/yitflu/	'he spits it (m.)'	/msk/	/yimsku/	'holds it (m.)'
/tsh/	/Satsha/	'her cough (f.)'	/mhh/	/gamhhom/	'their wheat'
/tšk/	/bətškɔm/	'your calf (of the water-buffalo)'	/mdg/	/yumdgow/	'they chew'
/tzk/	/rätzkom/	'your (pl.) trotting'	/ntr/	/yuntry/	'throws it (m.) away'
/ktm/	/yiktmow/	'they keep (a secret)'	/nsl/	/yunslu/	'pulls it (m.)'
/ktl/	/yiktlak/	'he gives you (m.s.) (a beating)'	/nšr/	/yunšrow/	'they saw (wood)'
/ksr/	/niksrū/	'I break it (m.)'	/nxl/	/yunxlu/	'sifts it (m.)'
/ftl/	/wagäftlu/	'I stood for him'	/ndk/	/Sindkom/	'with you (pl.)'
/fsh/	/naſhi/	'herself'	/ndh/	/Sindhom/	'with them'
/fsl/	/nifſlu/	'I fire him'	/ndr/	/yundrow/	'they sacrifice'
/fſt/	/Safſtu/	'his intestines'	/ngl/	/yingu/	'copies it (m.)'
/fſl/	/nifſlow/	'we spoil (a business)'	/nzh/	/Sanzhi/	'her goat'
/fzr/	/nuſzru/	'I infuriate him'	/ltx/	/yułtxow/	'they brush (somebody) aside'
/fjx/	/nuſjxow/	'we idle'	/lkm/	/yilkmu/	'makes him feel full (speaking of food)'
/stl/	/yisthū:nj/	'they tempt us (literally: they dope us)'	/lfz/	/yułfzu/	'says it (m.)'
/sgr/	/yisgrow/	'they keep looking'	/lbd/	/yilbdow/	'they stay'
/stm/	/niſtmu/	'I insult him'	/ldm/	/yułdmow/	'they become friends'
/škl/	/yišklow/	'they write Arabic diacritics'	/lgf/	/yułgfu:ha/	'they catch it (f.)'
/xtm/	/nixtmu/	'I stamp it (m.)'	/lgm/	/yułgmu/	'swallows it (m.)'
/hsr/	/yułhsr̥ow/	'they survey (property)'	/wsł/	/yiwslu/	'shows kindness to him'
/ħšr/	/yułħšrow/	'they squeeze'	/wgf/	/yiwgfu/	'stops him (from work)'
/htk/	/yihtkow/	'they defame'	/wzn/	/yiwznu/	'weighs it (m.)'
/hdr/	/yułhdrow/	'they waste (property)'	/rtl/	/yurtly/	'pours water on it (m.)'
/hjr/	/yuhjrak/	'deserts you'	/rkt/	/birktu/	'his pond'
/hml/	/yihmlow/	'they neglect'	/rkz/	/nirkzow/	'we stay'
/btl/	/jibtlu/	'I brought for him'	/rfs/	/yuřfsy/	'kicks him'
/bdr/	/yułbdrow/	'they sow (seeds)'	/rbt/	/yurbtu/	'ties it (m.)'
/gsm/	/nigsmow/	'we divide'	/rdh/	/Pardha/	'her land'
/zkr/	/yužkrow/	'they mention'	/rdm/	/yirdmow/	'they hail dust'
/gsl/	/yigſlow/	'they wash'	/rgt/	/firgtu/	'his group'
/škm/	/yuškmow/	'they arrest or hold'	/rgl/	/yirglow/	'they run slowly'
/ſfs/	/yuſfsow/	'they tread upon'	/rgl/	/yirglu:k/	'they give you a good beating'
/ſsr/	/yuſſrow/	'they squash'	/rmh/	/barmhom/	'their wandering'
/ſdk/	/baſdkom/	'after you (pl.)'			